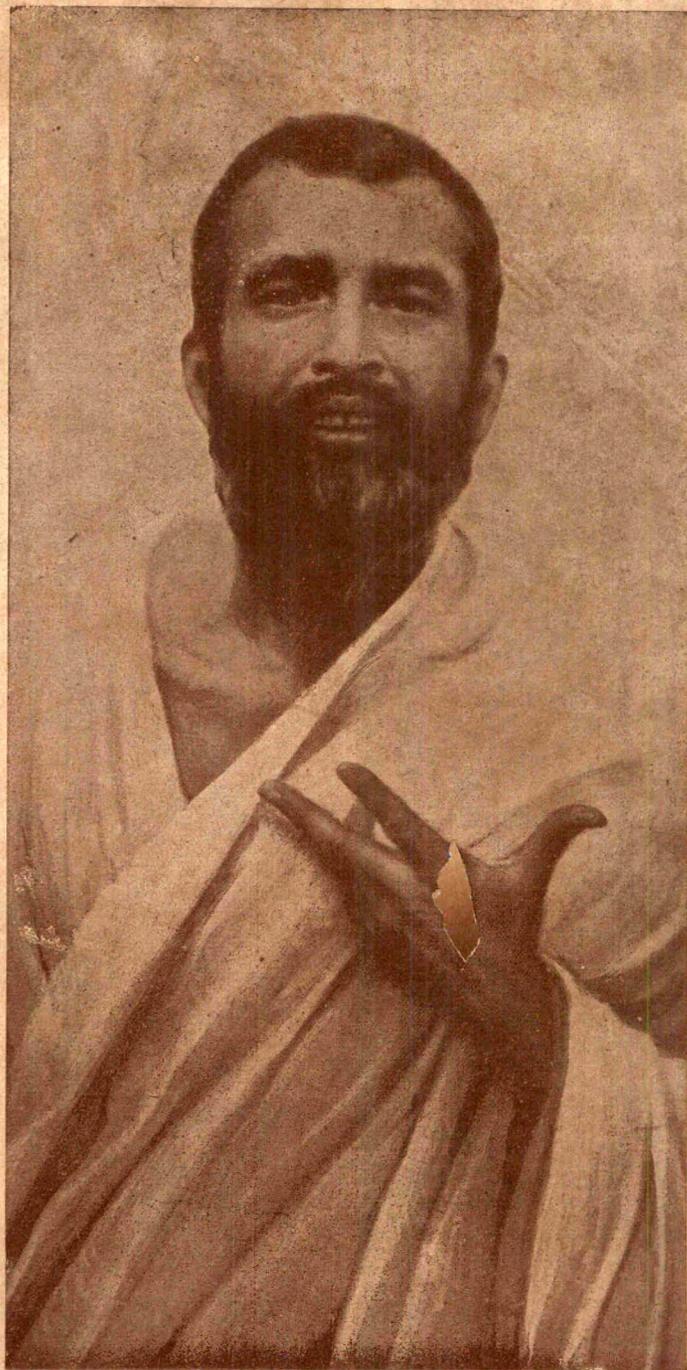
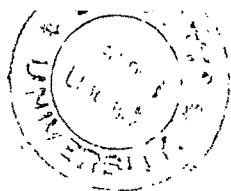


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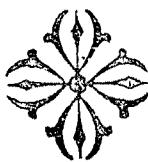


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## NOTES

### Prabhat Chandra Gangopadhyaya

The death of Prabhat Chandra Gangopadhyaya on the 7th of March 1973 at the age of 83 removes a great patriot, freedom fighter and reformer from Bengalee society. Son of the late Dwarkanath and Kadambini Gangopadhyaya, Prabhat Chandra came from a social setting which was outstanding intellectually. Dwarkanath was a reformer who worked with the Brahmo Samaj leaders among whom were Sivanath Shastri, Ananda Mohun Bose, Krishna Kumar Mitra and others. Dwarkanath was intimately associated with the great intellectuals of his time and one may mention Sir J. C. Bose, Sir P. C. Roy, Sir Nilratan Sircar, Prof. S. C. Mahalanobis, Bipin Chandra Pal and many others who held Dwarkanath in great regard. Sm. Kadambini Devi was one of the earliest women graduates of India and she was also a highly qualified medical practitioner. An elder sister of Prabhat Chandra, Sm. Jyotirmoyee Devi was an educationist of good standing and was well-known as a freedom fighter. Prabhat Chandra Gangopadhyaya was a lawyer and a journalist; but he gave up a lucrative practice at the call

of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. Later on he became the editor of the daily *Bharat* which was banned in 1942 by the British rulers of India. Prabhat Chandra was imprisoned too by the British, but he never tried to make capital out of the political work he had done for the reason that by nature he was not a careerist. He became president of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and also a trustee of the same institution. He considered his presidency of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj as the highest honour that could come to him. His admiration of Raja Rammohun Roy was great and limitless and he was, perhaps, the greatest authority on the Raja's life and works. He took an intensive interest in answering all criticisms that were directed at Raja Rammohun Roy and he never lost an argument when he took up his pen to defend his hero.

In his youth Prabhat Chandra was a sportsman of no mean standing and throughout his life he supported the cause of youth and progress in every sphere of life. He was a prolific writer but few of his writings were published in book form. His *Bharater Rashtriya*

*Iti-haser Khasra* gives many facts which are not found in other books dealing with the history of India's political struggle. He has made a special mention in this book of the historical role that the Brahmo Samaj and Brahmo men and women have played in India's freedom movement. Prabhat Chandra Gangopadhyaya was a link with the glorious past in which Sivanath Shastri, Ananda Mohun Bose, Rabindranath Tagore, Bipin Chandra Pal, Jagadish Chandra Bose, Prafulla Chandra Roy, Nilratan Sircar, Ramananda Chatterjee, Sarojini Naidu and many other great men and women stood out as builders of the nation.

#### Sri Bhupati Majumdar

Sri Bhupati Majumdar was one of the last of the revolutionaries who planned to overthrow British overlordship in India by armed rebellion. He worked with Jatin Mukherjee (Egha Jotin), Shusil Sen, Chittapriya Roy, Sarben Ghosh, Jadu Gopal Mukherjee and others who organised the abortive plan of importing German arms by sea from Mexico in 1917. Thousands of youngmen were interned after the British discovered the plans of this armed rising. Many others went underground and succeeded in other ways from being arrested and detained. Bhupati Majumdar had been a revolutionary from the age of 15 and was a member of the original Arushilan Samity which was organised in 1905-1906. He trained himself to be fighting fit and developed his physical prowess by playing football and cricket and through athletics, swimming, rifle practice and lathi and dagger play. Bhupati Majumdar kept up his martial outlook throughout his life and mastered the principles of warfare, strategy and minor tactics. Even when he was quite old he took up the study of commando methods of jungle warfare and was considered to possess expert knowledge of the same. He was a very good shot even after he was 70

years old and was the founder president of the West Bengal Rifle Association. He had also been the president of various sports organisations like the Bengal Olympic Association, the IFA and the Cricket Association of Bengal. He liked to have close association with the younger people and was vice-president of the National Council of Education and was also a member of the Jadavpur University's governing body. He was also connected with various other cultural associations.

In the political field Sri Bhupati Majumdar came into close association with Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Dr. B. C. Roy and many other Congress leaders. He was an important member of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das's Swaraj Party. In between his political work Bhupati Majumdar got arrested from time to time and spent long years in jail. One of the longest stretches of prison life was about 1930 when he was incarcerated for nine years. After leaving prison he was free only for a couple of years and was rearrested during the Quit India movement of 1942. Sri Bhupati Majumdar had been a member of the legislative assembly off and on and had been a minister too in various governments that functioned in West Bengal. He was a bachelor and was intellectually wide awake. His connection with musical societies and with the Oriental Society of Art show how wide spread his intellectual interests were. Among his closest friends were many literary men of great talent ; artists, scientists and scholars of solid standing. Born on the 1st of January 1891 he died on the 27th of March 1973 at the age of 83 years. He was ill for about a fortnight. His body was taken in procession to various places like Jadavpur University, Congress Offices, Writers Buildings, Mahajati Sadan, before being sent for cremation to Chinsura in the Hooghly District of West Bengal.

### Water Shortage in Calcutta

There is acute water shortage in certain parts of Calcutta. This is in addition to the overall water scarcity that the people of Calcutta habitually experience. The regional shortage in North and Central Calcutta is due to difficulties of distribution. The pipes that are being dug out and are being replaced by new ones of larger size may be at the root of this shortage. Another cause may be the lack of electric power which is required for operating the pumps which push the water into the feeder tanks of multi-storied houses. North and Central Calcutta have more of such houses compared to South Calcutta. Power cuts too might be more frequent and of longer duration in North and Central Calcutta than elsewhere. Whatever the causes it is something that can be cured and should not therefore be endured. The citizens of Calcutta are a long suffering lot whose patience and quiet submission to all sorts of avoidable lack of supply of essential utilities have broken all records of toleration. It is time that the citizens started kicking. He who pays the piper has the right to call for the tune. In Calcutta, and in the rest of India, the citizens pay rates, taxes and the suppliers bills, but do not get the supplies and the services regularly and fully. The citizens should organize themselves to safeguard their interests. There are no justifications for dumb suffering. Steps must be taken to force people to deliver the goods that are being paid for.

### Chances of Russo-Chinese War

War between these two mighty communist powers will be a great calamity. There have been border clashes between the frontier guards of the two nations ; but those were not of any full scale war like significance. Press reports now say that Russia has increased her border forces by four divisions and that some motorised divisions have been provided with

tactical nuclear weapons. The Russians have augmented their air force at the borders by three additional squadrons of MIG 21 and SU 11 aircrafts armed, probably, with nuclear weapons.

The Chinese have their nuclear installations at Lop Nor in the Sinkiang province of China and they fear that the Russians are planning to destroy these installations before the Chinese successfully complete their plans of manufacturing their Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles for counter attacks in case any nuclear strike is attempted on China. The Chinese fears of a nuclear attack by Russia are very real according to the Chinese defence chiefs in so far as they are building air raid tunnels and under ground shelters in all big cities in an extensive manner. If, however one looks for any genuine causes of war between China and Russia, one would find it difficult to locate any. There may be ideological differences which non-communists find hard to understand ; but such differences exist much more between China and America. So if there can be peace between China and America one sees no reason why there should be a war between Russia and China.

### Lawlessness in Industrial Areas

The industrial areas of India quite often become centres of violence and rowdy demonstrations. The reason for this is that industrial workers are organised, they live in large members in limited zones, they have factions which have politicians behind them and there is also influence to protect the hooligans who indulge in lawlessness. A recent example of such lawbreaking was found in Durgapur where Mr. Bimal Chowdhury, an employee of Alloy Steel Plant, reported to be a CITU supporter, was stabbed to death near the union office at "B" zone of the steel town on the 26th March 1973 at night. The police have found some

clues, but no further information relating to the murder was made available to the public. The regrettable fact connected with such acts of extreme violence is that these are connected with party politics and trade unionism. One does not have to explain why clean politics and peaceful Trade Unionism are more civilised and productive of human well being and progress than the politics and unionism which are based on Mafia tactics. Hooliganism that does not stop even at assassinations cannot be the expression of political ideals of a civilised nation. Particularly of a nation that has produced a Gandhi and that accepts "Ahimsa" as the basic principle of political action. Trade Unionism is a method which is adopted by organised labour for collective bargaining for the improvement of workers' standard of living and the terms and conditions of their service. If the workers split up into factions and resort to criminal violence in order to remove opposition within their own ranks, the fundamental ideals of Trade Unionism are destroyed thereby and the workers factions become something like the gangster organisations that developed during the prohibition period in the United States of America. We feel that our national political leaders, as well as those who are connected with trade unionism, are no longer as deeply attached to the principles that Mahatma Gandhi preached; nor are they observing and obeying the rules of democratic politics of the progressive nations of the world. If they think that they can safely follow and imitate the ways of the South American revolution mongers or those of Amin of Uganda or Al Fatah of Palestine they would surely have to face a great disillusionment in the near future. Immoral tactics in all fields of public life are reprehensible and lead to national decadence. Those leaders who employ strong arm boys to force their will upon the people, should

realise that force has never been as convincing as the projection in action of the highest ethical precepts. The Emperor Ashoka proved that a great empire could be built by winning over the peoples by moral persuasion. The sword can temporarily subdue, but an ethical approach wins over the masses peacefully and in a long standing manner. The evils of forcible conversion to any opinion or the acceptance of a point of view are many and the intelligent leaders try to avoid use of force in order to assure that ideals are reached by following the path of peace, understanding and virtue.

#### C P I—Congress (R) Entente

The very large mass meeting held in Boat Club Maidan in New Delhi on the 27th of March 1973, in which CPI leaders demanded the take over of monopoly houses, curbs on soaring prices and jobs for the unemployed, was significant for certain reasons. There is an entente between the Congress and the CPI and people believe that the taking over of economic institutions by Government has been inspired by the CPI and was a move to placate the leftists which the Congress had agreed to do for political reasons. Whether there is any foreign influence in this should also be considered. For that would complicate matters very profoundly. The present tirade against monopoly houses could not have provided the inner urge to take over banks, insurance companies, coal mines nor can that be the reason for taking over the wholesale trade in food grains. But in a poor country strong feelings are easily roused against monopolists who are supposed to be extremely wealthy. There is an assumption in the minds of communistically inclined persons that all wealth is procured by exploitation of the poor. Nobody takes the trouble to find out whether Kabuli

money lenders, Bustee landlords, sellers of goods on credit to the poor ; small trader, atelier owners and minor entrepreneurs who pay starvation wages to the poor, are monopolists or whether they are exploiters of the poor. There are many employers of field labour in Bihar and Madhyapradesh who pay the lowest wages to their employees. These people are not very wealthy themselves. The great Monolith, the state is hardly the most lavish paymaster among all employers of workers of various kinds. Some of the private employers, who are classified as Monopolists pay much higher wages to their employees and the amenities provided to employees by them are very much more attractive as compared to what state employees get in similar jods. Had communism been a system in which workers enjoyed the highest standard of living, Russia and China should have been overflowing with consumer goods and the workers of those countries should have had a higher standard of living compared to what one finds in Sweden, Switzerland or Great Britain. In fact highest wages are paid in the USA and the West European non-communist countries and the standard of living of the masses in these lands is far superior to what one finds in Russia or China. As to soaring prices one may enquire what one has to pay for a pair of shoes in Moscow.

About unemployment, one has to admit that the Indian government's socialist pattern of management has diverted most of the available economic resources into capital intensive enterprise which has left vast numbers of workers unemployed. Even now, with the CPI brains to guide them, the Congress leaders cannot make up their minds as to the right choice of undertakings for removing poverty from India.

The mass rally referred to above has been

organised with the full knowledge and approval of the government of India. It appears to be organised to force a change of policy upon the government ; a change that they have already planned and decided to introduce. But when these plans are given effect to, will that help to employ 50 million persons and, build millions of houses and double the supply of consumer goods ?

#### Good Sense Prevails in Assam

On March 23, 1973 the Assam Assembly passed a resolution which rescinded the September 1972 resolution regarding linguistic medium of instruction in Assamese educational institutions. By this new resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Assam Assembly on the ground that "changed circumstances" required the adoption of this new resolution. The new resolution provided that Assamese will be the main and English the alternative medium of instruction in two valley universities of Gauhati and Dibrugarh and a separate university will be set up for the predominantly Bengali speaking Cachar District. This is obviously for the purpose of rectifying the unconstitutional actions of the Assamese in the matter of safeguarding Minority Rights in that state. The idea that Assamese should be the main medium of instruction in Assam is based on the principle that the mothertongue of the students should be the medium of instruction in schools, colleges and universities. Applying the same principle to all centres of education where most students had Bengali or some other language as their mother tongue the use of Bengali or other languages should be adopted. In West Bengal there are institutions in which instruction is given in Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati, Marathi, Telugu or Tamil. The Bengalees do not object to it. The Assamese similarly should accept the right of various linguistic groups, which are large enough, to use their own language for educational purposes.

### The Rights of the People

Socialism is a development of the socio-politico-economic system by which the people of a particular country enjoy more freedom, increased amenities of life, greater equality and a higher status in their own country and in the world. If what some politicians call socialism fails to achieve such or similar changes in the life of the people then that socialism is not what the greatest socialist thinkers envisaged when they expounded the fundamental principles of socialism. Everytime the Indian bureaucrats think out some new scheme of increasing the hold of the government on the life of the people, the politicians who support such bureaucratic control over the nations life and institutions cry out in unison that India was becoming more socialistic than ever before. But when we try to analyse the results of these new moves towards what the majority political party chooses to call socialism, we find no signs of any increases of freedom and in the supply of the amenities of life. We do not succeed in discovering any symptoms of growing equality between man and man nor of any improved status that Indian men and women enjoy in the civilised world. We only find that the government of India have arrogated to themselves more powers than ever before. Their hold on the life of the nation has become more complete by and by, without creating any significant advantages for the people.

If the people of India buy coal or wheat through the agency of the government, perhaps at a higher price than what they paid when the goods were sold to them through private agencies, would that bring everybody nearer to socialism? If they had the pleasure of knowing that all Indian steel was made under government supervision would that make the Indian people more free, less poor

and enable them to enjoy greater equality with others and to hold their heads high in human society? If the people do not gain in the manner described but buy their insurance policies from government owned corporations, deposit their poor earnings in governmental banks, lived in houses as tenants of government and worked in offices and factories run by the state; would that guarantee that they were the citizens of a socialist state? For governments can deprive people of their freedoms and also force them to lead a penurious existence in a bleak and degrading environment. We all know that government managed railways can be very uncomfortable for the passengers. Government owned insurance companies can charge higher rates of premium than private companies do in other progressive lands. Governments are not necessarily ideal employers nor are they always fair and just when they buy or sell goods. In short nationalisation of the nations' institutions is no remedy for those moral, economic and social ills that humanity has been trying to do away with during the millenia that civilisation has developed and functioned.

### Socialism, a Mirage or a Reality

The physical and psychological reactions that human beings experience and display are mainly centred in the individual bodies and minds. There can be collective reactions too and one may find more than one person recording the same reactions as a result of a certain external stimulus. Entire families, clans or communities may have a similar response to something that affects them all. A social incident, a religious festival, a quarrel, with a neighbouring group of persons or an imposition by the state, can affect large numbers of persons of a particular region whose reactions will also be expressed collectively. Foreign conquest may overwhelm

entire nations with a sense of grief ; just as the overthrowing of a tyrant may flood the mass mind with joy and relief. Thus one finds that pain and pleasure, irritation or satisfaction, favourable or contrary attitudes can develop in individuals as well as in small or large groups of persons, as a result of what happens to the person or persons concerned physically or mentally. But, as we have mentioned right in the beginning, of all reactions individual reactions are the most common and frequent. They are also the most intensive precise and doubtless developments of a physical or psychological variety that one may find anywhere at any time. The group reactions can be very intensive and may even surpass all individual reactions in intensity ; but such occasions are not frequent nor long lasting. Also all individuals in a group may not react equally strongly ; some may even pretend to be emotionally moved or physically affected without really experiencing anything. Great revolutions may sweep over a country without affecting thousands of persons with any degree of emotional upheaval. In fact group reactions are quite often very deceptive and that is why political opinion and faith are not so dependable. Those who are ardent monarchists one day may change over to a republican outlook the next day. It may so happen that the same persons will shout *vive le roi* the day after that once again. This has happened in France after the French Revolution more than once.

When individuals suffer the sorrows or enjoy the pleasures of life they record their experiences more indelibly than the masses do when they are swayed by emotions generated by propaganda. A hungry man does not forget his hunger, nor does a mother ever get over her grief at the loss of her child. Individuals cherish what they get and harbour their feelings of loss or unfulfilled desire in the

secret recesses of their hearts for long years. No propaganda can make them forget their sufferings or their joys. Individuals are more loyal, faithful and true to their accepted ideals than are political party members as collective bodies. So unless the majority of the individuals of a nation are won over, really and truly, to a new point of view like collective ownership of land or equal distribution of wealth ; resolutions passed by political parties cannot assure the success of such revolutionary programs. We may think that the individuals of a nation can be herded into a socialistic or communistic fold by propaganda and by utilising the resources of the nation by the government in an autocratic and demonstrative manner. But unless the people are convinced that the state can give them more of the good things of life by their manipulations with the economic institutions of the country ; the socialism that will take shape out of nothing will also vanish into nothing as soon as there is a change in political fashion.

#### Poverty Line

Where is the poverty line in terms of per capita annual income and how many people in India live below that line. That is a question which is difficult to answer. Firstly we do not know clearly and precisely the average per capita annual income of all Indians. There used to be an assumption that this average annual income was about Rs 300 per head per year. But is that still so inspite of all the inflation and population explosion, or is it higher or lower than that. One may assert conjecturally that this average can be now by correction on a plus minus twenty per cent basis between the two figures 240 and 360 rupees per annum. That is, the average per capita annual income of Indians cannot be higher than Rs 360/- or lower than Rs 240/-. Now one has to work out the nature of the standard of living that a person can have in

India with an annual income of Rs 360/- (or Rs. 240 or in between the two figures). That is, twenty to thirty rupees per month. In any analysis of human standards of living one has to take into account certain basic needs of existence. These are the requirements of food, clothing, housing, medicine and conventional utilities. Indians of the poorer classes eat very plain food but their requirements in calories cannot be less than 2500 calories for a grown up person who works. Considering that 2 chhataks of boiled rice gives 300 calories the consumption of ten chhataks of boiled rice should provide 1500 calories. The rest of the calories are obtained from cooking oil, vegetables, sugar or jaggery, milk or animal proteins. If one ate at least 1 chhatak of potatoes along with leafy vegetables, gourds and so forth one could get about 500 calories from a vegetable curry cooked in oil. The rest of the calories could then be got from lentils and other food ingredients including sugar or jaggery and occasional bits of fish or meat. Let us assume that the average person consumed one chhatak of oil, one chhatak of sugar or jaggery and one chhatak of milk in the shape of Dahi. We shall not list other food articles but allot some expenses on the same. We shall not try to put a value on the wheat, millets and corn that people may consume but include expenses on these in the value of the ten chhataks of rice; for where people consume wheat etc. the quantum of rice is reduced. The price of rice should be calculated at Rs 1.50 for 18 chhataks. That is about 80 paise for the ten chhataks that the average person would need to consume. Oil, sugar or jaggery, vegetables, lentils etc should cost about  $30 + 15 + 10 + 10 = 65$  paise. Another 10 paise should be added for other expenses on food including fuel. So that the food budget would come to  $80 + 75 = 1.55$  (Rupee one and fifty five paise) per day. One can easily see that it would be futile to work

out any cost of living that will fit into the average annual income of Rs 360/- per head. Even if food costs were cut down to half of what we have worked out above these will total upto 77 paise per head per day. The calories than might add upto about 1000 per day. If one assumes that clothing, housing, medicine etc would not cost less than 20 paise per day or Rs 6/- per head per month, the total expenses of living by adoption of a minimum standard could never come within the national average of per capita annual income. We have not counted expenses of education, conveyance and the extraordinary requirements connected with births, marriages, deaths etc. etc. Land Tax, costs of litigation are also left out. The poverty line as drawn up by certain economic experts has therefore been drawn without reference to the factual line below which Indian people cannot exist without suffering from starvation, semi nakedness, homelessness, illiteracy and lack of medical treatment. There is also the question of the strangle hold that money lenders have on the poorer people of India. We cannot say accurately how many people habitually starve and do not get the bare necessities of life in India. Their number can be well over a hundred million. There would be another one hundred million people or more whose condition is not very much better. The politicians of India have been planning to remove this dire poverty by various methods all of which just cannot and does not touch the lives of the actual sufferers. People over whose life government action exerts any influence are those whose incomes, are much above the socalled poverty line. The really poverty stricken people live in villages which cannot be reached by metalled roads, nor have any economic resources that are relatively developed and can be utilised for planned employment and production of goods which have a ready market. The question of the non-existent roads comes uppermost when one analyses the potentialities of these numerous desolate centres of human habitation.

# SOME ASPECTS OF THE LEAGUE AND THE UNITED NATIONS

V. T. PATIL

The aim of this essay is to take a look at some of the significant aspects of the League and the United Nations.

## The League of Nations

The story of the League's rise and decline through the twenty eventful years in which it carried with it a great part of the hopes and fortunes of mankind is indeed fascinating. The League in spite of its transitory success and inglorious end, occupies a place of supreme importance in history. The League involved an unprecedented forward leap, accompanied by changes in the conduct of international relations. It represented an effort to formulate a new basis on which international relations were to be organised. In short, like "all great phenomena of human society, the establishment of the League derived from a combination of facts and ideas, circumstances and purposes, objective conditions and subjective conceptions. The new system reflected the philosophical assumptions and normative ideals which characterized the contemporary approach to international relations."<sup>1</sup>

The early years of the League were spent on the building up of its structure and development of methods of procedure. In the subsequent years, it functioned steadily and successfully, fulfilling the duties imposed by the covenant, slowly and gradually extending its domain over all international aspects of human affairs.

It has been suggested that the failure of the League was the result of the members' 'weakness of purpose' rather than any inherent

defect in the covenant, and that its shortcomings were due to the fact that its principles were not carried out. However, one can argue that the League lacked sufficient teeth to fulfil the provisions of the covenant, apart from other weaknesses with which it was beset. The League was not universal in nature for it was dominated by the European powers. The problems of Africa and Asia were generally beyond the ambit of the League, save for some exceptions.

The League was severely handicapped by the stigma of being identified with the status quo of 1919. The over-riding desire to maintain the status quo of 1919 (the League's association with the Treaty of Versailles) led to a creeping paralysis in its political activities and consequently undermined its ability to maintain international peace and order. In view of this, the League was not in a position to prevent any major wars, and this proved itself ineffective. The reasons for the failure are partly constitutional and political, and partly structural in nature.

The preamble to the covenant provided that the member nations accept the obligation of not resorting to war. However, Article 12 stipulated that the members should not "resort to war until three months after the award of the arbitrators." By virtue of Article 13, paragraph 4, the members agreed "that they will not resort to war against a member of the League which complies" with the judicial decision of a dispute. The covenant on the one hand provided for the prevention of all wars, but on the other sanctioned the legalization of some.

The structural weaknesses of the League, to a large extent accounted for the failure to prevent the wars that occurred under its jurisdiction. The nature of the distribution of power within the League was in contrast to the distribution of power in the world at large. While the structure of the League was predominantly European, world politics was to a great extent dominated by non-European powers like the United States and Japan. Moreover, even the Soviet Union was not a member of the League for a greater part of its lifetime. Thus the non-membership of some of these great powers rendered the League powerless to preserve world peace.

Politically, too, the League exhibited weakness. The League generally was unable to act as a unit in the face of many problems for which it was supposed to find solutions. The separate and generally antagonistic policies of the great powers incapacitated this organization. It proved to be impossible for Russia, Britain and France to unite for concerted action—given their divergent interests and purposes—in any of the great crises from 1934 to 1939, with the exception of sanctions against Italy. They frequently found themselves in opposite camps. With the antagonistic policies pursued by the major powers, and the possibility of a veto always hanging like the sword of Damocles, decisive collective action was not possible. Added to this, the principle of unanimity in such circumstances proved more a hindrance than a virtue. The inability of the League to maintain international peace was the inevitable result of the ascendancy of antagonistic policies of great powers over the moral and political aims of the international government of the League of Nations.

#### The United Nations

The working of the United Nations can be meaningfully understood by confronting the

constitutional provisions with the manner in which it functions. A separate analysis of its constitutional function and actual performance brings out clearly the gap between theory and practice.

The distribution of powers in the United Nations, as in the case of the League, is heavily weighted in favour of the major powers. Whenever the superpowers violate the charter no remedial action is possible. The Charter becomes a useless scrap of paper when a great power chooses to defy it. More specifically, the international government of the United Nations is government of two really great powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. If the Soviet Union and the United States are united, at best they can govern the rest of the world for maintaining peace and order. At worst, if they are disunited (which is generally the case) the lack of international government becomes obvious.

The inability of the General Assembly to make decisions on political matters is pronounced, for the juxtaposition of a deciding Security Council and a recommending General Assembly is to be found in the Charter. The power of the General Assembly is further curtailed by the provision that when the Security Council is seized with a matter, the General Assembly may still debate, but it can no longer even recommend. This enables the Security Council to dominate the General Assembly by merely putting a particular item on its agenda and reducing the General Assembly to a debating forum. All this points to the conclusion that the division of functions between the General Assembly and the Security Council is lop-sided and one may even go to the extent of labelling it as a constitutional monstrosity.

The Charter provides for a basic internal inconsistency in regard to the principle of justice on which the U. N. is founded. Article 2

paragraph 1 declares that "the Organization based on the principle of sovereign equality of all its Members." But looking at the provisions in the main body of the Charter, paradoxically the feeling is one of oversign inequality of the members.<sup>1</sup> The Charter ~~stresses~~ the sovereign equality of all members, but on the other hand, assigns the permanent members of the Security Council a privileged position in its functioning. Thus the principle of sovereign equality is contradicted by the actual distribution of functions which the Charter provides.

Article 4 of the Charter lays down the conditions for admission of new members: "Membership in the United Nations is open to all other *peace-loving* states which accept the *obligations* contained in the present Charter and in the judgment of the Organization, *are able and willing* to carry out these obligations."

An applicant for admission (1) must be a 'state', (2) must be 'peace-loving', (3) must 'accept the obligations' contained in the Charter, and (4) must be 'able and willing' to carry out these obligations.

If so far as the present international situation is concerned there is hardly an objective test for 'peace lovingness' in a world in which complaints of 'Communist aggression' and 'imperialistic aggression' are commonplaces of political vituperation. It is, therefore, difficult to determine the criteria of 'peace lovingness'. What factors will be taken into consideration when determining the 'peace loving' qualities or otherwise of a prospective entrant? An element of subjectivity is bound to creep in as value judgements are involved. Moreover, the ability and willingness to carry out those obligations are qualifications which would in some cases be really beyond demonstration at the time of admission. In consequence, the question of admission of new members, which should be decided in

an objective and quasi-judicial manner, is viewed purely from the political angle and is influenced openly by the power politics of the two blocks. The vetoing of the admission of Bangladesh by Communist China in 1972 is an apt illustration in this regard.

As an alternative, Claude suggests the "rule of essentiality." According to him membership evaluation must be based on functional considerations. The question to be answered would be whether a nation's "participation is essential to, or incompatible with, the realization of the aims of the organization."<sup>2</sup> However, this criterion, too, leaves much room for uncertainty and indecisiveness.

The Security Council's prestige has constantly fallen during its 27 years of life. In these intervening years, the Council has done nothing to regain its prestige by working as a potent instrument of collective security. The veto is the primary factor in the paralysis of the Security Council. The United Nations would have been a much more rational—and probably much more effective—organization than it is today if the veto could be abolished altogether. Unfortunately the veto power is rooted with everlasting finality in the fundamental framework of the United Nations and the beneficiaries are not at all prepared to surrender this privilege.

What should be the principle of selection for permanent membership? In terms of power politics France and Britain are typical middle powers. By no means can they be put on a footing of equality with giants like the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. or even Communist China. If permanent seats in the Security Council are to be reserved for the 'Big' powers, it is obvious that the names of such members should not be mentioned specifically in the Charter, for it is open to doubt whether the big powers of 1945 would

continue to be the big powers of 1973. We live in an age of tremendous changes and these changes must be reflected in the composition of the Security Council. Those 'Big' powers who cease to be 'Big' powers must be replaced by new 'Big' powers through a simple—almost automatic—process. The rise of Japan as an economic super power and the growing importance of Asia and India's weight as the focus of democratic leadership in Asia justify the succession of both Japan and India to a permanent seat on the Security Council.

The system of collective security as conceived by the framers of the Charter has thus been found to be unworkable. "History may record that collective security was a conceptual scheme for dealing with an eighteenth or nineteenth century kind of world, doomed to irrelevance in the twentieth century because of the disappearance of the multiplicity of great powers in favour of duality of super powers."<sup>3</sup> Mutual suspicion and disagreement on most of the major international issues keep the super powers apart; they were unable to act together although the Charter was framed on the convenient hypothesis of the continuity of co-operation of 'Big' powers. The disintegration of Big-power unity in the working of the Security Council has led to the search of effective substitutes.

In consequence the rise of the General Assembly as an important organ for the maintenance of peace is of no surprise. This shift in emphasis from the Security Council to the General Assembly has been effected through 'informal amendment' of the Charter. Even the Secretary General's role has been resuscitated in a manner which indicates a liberal interpretation of the relevant provisions of the Charter.

Having regard to the dynamic changes and

varied developments, it might be argued that the Charter has outlived its utility, that it is a static document incapable of steady and fruitful evolution. For this state of affairs we will have to go back to San Francisco. The proceedings at San Francisco were hurried, with the result that the Charter is neither a study in precision nor a compact document. In many places it appears as the product of loose or untidy drafting leaving ambiguity as its dominant impact. The disputes that have risen in recent years regarding interpretation of the Charter are due to shoddy and imprecise nature of the drafting. But, on the other hand, the argument can be advanced that after all the Charter represents the will and wishes of the participants. Great power disagreement and the diversity of views on different issues had to be accommodated, and the Charter is essentially the product of a series of compromises. This being the case, perfection was sacrificed at the alter of accommodation and ambiguity and imprecision were the inevitable result. The Charter, in consequence, is no less and no more than a realistic representation of the Post-War power configuration.

The U. N. has had many successes in the periphery of its activities, but it has failed in its essential purpose of establishing the rule of law. The choice before mankind is between letting things slide and taking vigorous and drastic action now.

#### The League, U. N. and World Government

The League represented the first effective move towards the organization of a worldwide political and social order. It marked a revolutionary step further, for it was based on the common ideal towards which many generations were slowly making their way. The League was part of the natural evolution of the political institutions of civilized life and represented the outlines of a world govern-

ment. It had proved that nations and peoples could quickly and naturally develop a sense of common feeling and a pride in their corporate institutions.

The League is the intellectual fore runner of the United Nations. The U. N. to a great extent derives its foundation and inspiration from the Covenant of the League. For the "most obvious fact, so obvious as to be taken for granted, is the basic identity of objectives and methods, of plans and structure."<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the U.N. constitutes an improvement upon the League in so far as the founding fathers learning from past experience of the League, consciously and deliberately avoided its pitfalls and shortcomings. The Charter in essence constitutes a refined version of the League. But this need not lead us to conclude that the Charter is essentially a copy of the League. The U. N. breaks new ground by providing for novel instrumentalities with clear and definite powers. The U. N.'s evolution could be characterized as being in the twilight zone between a league of states and a world government. Thus, the U. N. "may be looked upon as a process of initiating steps in the direction of world government, of realising the ageless aspiration for human brotherhood by transcending the national state system and substituting a fundamentally new system."<sup>5</sup> But the real question is whether the United Nations, the way it is organised, can ever become a legitimate successor to the sovereign states. Quite often the sovereign state has proved to be an inefficient instrument for achieving national security. The national-State has "fundamental defects which are themselves productive of chronic instability and inevitable conflict."<sup>6</sup> The nation states which are members of the U. N. are not prepared to part with their sovereignty. As it is, the League of Nations or even the U. N. does not represent a sufficient advance towards

the goal of a world federation or government, because by themselves they do not provide adequate modification of the sovereign state. New political and legal institutions are necessary to serve the ends of mankind. The protagonists of a world government, if they have in mind a comprehensive form of international society should politically organise the world government in such a way that it overcomes the fundamental obstacle of the sovereign state.

The idea of a world federation visualises a careful and well-planned division of powers between the world authority created, and the national units. For an orderly and efficient government this is a minimum condition.

There are two schools of thought on the question of world government. One school believes that political institutions are the work of men and they owe their origin and existence to human will. In other words, world governments—if there will be one—will have to be a deliberate artifact of man.

The other school believes that political institutions are the product of spontaneity. They are not a matter of choice. They are not made, but grow. If world government is to come into existence at all, it will essentially be the result of an evolutionary process.

Professor Mander very rightly says that "international government is not a luxury but a necessity, and that the most urgent political need to-day is to adopt political institutions more in accordance with the facts of life."<sup>7</sup> However, a number of questions arise regarding the world government. Are the peoples of the world willing to accept a world government at this stage? Will they refrain from putting insurmountable obstacles in the way of its establishment? Will they co-operate and be able to do all that is necessary for making a world government a going concern? Will the people allow the world government to

fulfil its purpose? The answers are bound to be in the negative.

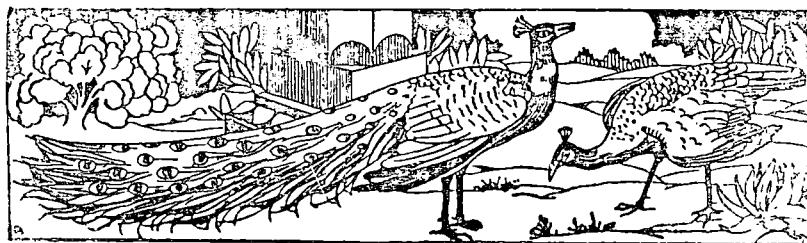
In an international society of sovereign states lacking a supranational society loyalties of men do not reach beyond the nation states. Therefore, under present moral conditions of mankind, few men would act on behalf of a world government at the expense of the interests of their nation. The interests and welfare of their own nation is put above everything else. International peace cannot be permanent without a world state, yet paradoxically a world state cannot be established, under the present moral, social, and political conditions of the world.

In conclusion, one can say that the debate on world government is often diffusive and unclear. The proponents of the world government think in terms of an apocalyptic leap towards a world federation. However,

the fact that general statements too vague to be practically useful are made gives the impression that these people who make these statements do not have a clear idea of what they are proposing.

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1. Inis L. Claude, *Swords into Plowshares—The Problems and Progress of International Organization*, 3rd ed. ( New York, Random House, 1968 ), pp. 45-46.
2. Ibid., p. 80.
3. Ibid., p. 250.
4. H. G. Nicholas, *The United Nations—As a political institution*, 2nd ed. ( New York, Oxford University Press, 1963 ), p. 14.
5. Inis L. Claude, op. cit., p. 8.
6. L. A. Mander, *Foundations of Modern World Society*. 2nd ed. ( California, Stanford University Press 1947 ), p. 27.
7. Ibid., Preface to second edition.



## ANATOMY OF WEST BENGAL'S ECONOMY\*

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

Mr. K. N. Vaid belongs to that rare breed of Indian writers who allow facts to determine what should be the conclusion rather than forcing the facts to fit into a pre-conceived notion. His study of West Bengal's economy with particular reference to the labour unrest is a revealing one and demolishes many of the pet notions which ill-informed writers and politicians are prone to parade as "scientific" statements. There is no doubt that much of the discrimination against West Bengal escaped detection by well-meaning persons outside West Bengal because of the concerted propaganda about "labour indiscipline" and so on. Few among the non-Bengalis have had the time and ability to look behind the smokescreen of motivated propaganda against the Bengalis. Mr. Vaid's penetrating study forcefully rips the veil of this evil anti-Bengali propaganda and reveals the facts for what they are. The first fact to note is that the number of work stoppage in West Bengal was never the highest among the states during the period 1948-1966, although the propaganda would have us believe that West Bengal was unusually

afflicted by labour unrest. In terms of number of work stoppages Maharashtra had always preceded West Bengal. Perhaps there is nothing to be surprised over this fact since among the states of India Maharashtra has the largest number of enterprises and the largest industrial employment. Mr. Vaid correctly notes that "the higher incidence of strikes and industrial conflicts in either of these two states does not signify anything more than the higher rate of industrialisation associated with the higher incidence of industrial unrest" (page 98).

### Outmoded management

Nevertheless the duration of strikes in West Bengal was consistently longer than in any other state, or in the country as a whole, during the period of 1948-1966. Among the reasons for this phenomenon are the migratory character of labour and the inflexible attitude of the employers in the state with "their traditional stubbornness of neither yielding to, nor negotiating with unions". Mr. Vaid writes, "the overtones of class attitude are much more obvious in West Bengal than anywhere else in the country. A conflict easily becomes a class issue and, therefore, cannot be resolved on business or enterprise considerations. Still another explanation offered is the historical absence of collective

\* *Gheraos and Labour Unrest in West Bengal*  
by K. N. Vaid, Shri Ram Centre for  
Industrial Relations and Human Re-  
sources, 5, Pusa Road, New Delhi-  
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bargaining in the State. Barring a few exceptions, enterprises are run on proprietary basis or in the old colonial style of management. An enterprise, more often, is a closed system and the union is given no role in it. The demands of labour are considered a challenge to managerial authority and employers' prerogatives, and, therefore, must be curbed with a strong hand. Another reason offered for longer duration of strikes is that relatively a larger percentage of enterprises in West Bengal are small units and, therefore, fall outside the purview of several labour laws as well as the dispute settlement machinery of the government. And small units are more strike-prone. Once a strike takes place in such a unit, it is more difficult to terminate it. The disputants may stand on prestige ; they lack in the skills to process the strike ; the government machinery is not keen to intervene and to add to its already heavy workload ; and the 'big-name' leaders are not interested in such cases due to small political or social returns. All of these explanations may have a fair amount of validity. It requires a series of studies in depth of individual strikes to indicate any conclusive reasons for longer duration of strikes in the State" (pp 98-99).

#### Union enrolment retards strikes

In the better industrialised states like Maharashtra and West Bengal the unionised workers did not constitute more than one-fifth of the total unionizable work force. Maharashtra showed the highest rate of unionisation (23.9 percent) followed by West Bengal (19.1 percent). Between 1948-1964, there was a decline in the union members' participation in the strikes all over the country including Maharashtra and West Bengal. In other words trade unionism tended to exercise a sobering influence on the

proneness of labour to strike. Yet the employers are so much opposed to unionization ! In West Bengal 40 per cent of the strikes that took place during 1960-1966 were initiated by unions not affiliated to any central trade union organisation. The percentage of unaffiliated unions and that of the membership of the AITUC to the total was higher in West Bengal than in Maharashtra and within West Bengal it was higher in the engineering industry, which registered the largest number of industrial disputes in recent years, than in other industries.

#### Managerial Incitement to Industrial unrest.

"The most telling difference between West Bengal and other states", writes Mr. Vaid, "lies in the apparent causes of strikes. Personnel issues pertaining to suspension, discharge, dismissal, retrenchment, lay-off, and implementation of awards, agreements, and other statutory provisions constituted the single largest and the biggest group of causes of strikes in West Bengal throughout the past two decades. Economic issues such as wages, allowances, and bonus were the dominant group in causing a majority of the strikes in Maharashtra as well as for the country as a whole. Similarly, causes grouped under the heading 'others' pertaining to workers' right to organise, union recognition, indiscipline, violence, etc., were the second largest group in West Bengal but they constituted a small fraction of the total in other States as well as for the country as a whole. Personnel issues, generally speaking, are not interest-oriented matters, they pertain largely to the rights and obligations of parties under the existing legal and administrative framework. As such, they involve interpretation of the provisions, and there can be honest differences of opinion in interpreting legal provisions. Given a formally structured and objective machinery and well-defined procedures of processing such

differences, conflicts could be resolved without resort to work-stoppages. The high incidence of strikes on personnel matters is a sad reflection on the management styles and practices in the State" (pp 99-100). Mr. Vaid makes an analysis of 1118 cases of disputes referred to the labour judiciary by the State Government between January 1960 and March 1961 and finds that 564 of them resulted in compromised awards as follows : "No dispute" award 35.8 per cent ; employment allowed 33.7 percent ; reinstated without compensation 14.0 percent ; re-employed without compensation 4.4 percent ; employment not allowed but compensation paid in lieu of back wages and retrenchment 4.1 percent ; employment or compensation not allowed but notice pay granted 8.0 percent. In the non-compromised cases the courts generally tended to uphold management decisions partly because it was not open to a tribunal to examine the merits of management decisions in disciplinary cases as though it were sitting as an appellate authority. The analysis of the compromised cases, writes Mr. Vaid, "is a sad reflection on the manner in which the managements conducted their affairs. First, the disciplinary disputes which were compromised before the courts could also have been resolved at the enterprise level. It is obvious that bilateral relationships between the managements and the unions concerned were either weak or non-existent or the parties just stood on prestige. Second, 202 out of 564 disputes (36 per cent) occurred on such flimsy grounds that even a preliminary discussion revealed that they should not have come up at all. Third, it was only in 68 cases (8 per cent of the total) that employment was denied to workmen ; the remaining cases involved only a modification of punishment. Thus, it was only 68 cases which could have constituted disputes on disciplinary matters, and the

managements could have avoided being dragged to law courts in all other cases. Such a large number of compromised cases involving punishment in so few is an admission by the managements that they in fact precipitated disputes on grounds that could not be sustained".

#### Bias against Bengalis

An aspect of the management in West Bengal is that there is "a disproportionately large number of expatriate and non-Bengali managers in West Bengal" who are more expensive in terms of both salaries and overheads. Most of the large Indian companies still employ and prefer non-Bengalis in key positions according to the finding of Mr. Vaid. This is also true of ordinary workers. In 1967 48 percent of workers employed in West Bengal were of local origin against 35 percent from the states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. As late as 1958 immigrants constituted 88 percent of the work force in jute, 65 percent in cotton, 74 per cent in steel and 73 per cent in paper industries". This group is older in age, less educated, low paid and traditional in outlook, behaviour and social relations. The Bengali worker is "mostly young in age, educated, skilled, better paid, militant and articulate in behaviour, middle class in its value structure and leftist in its political orientation.....(p 141). "He likes to participate in determining the rules that govern his conduct and resists being ordered around and patronized.....The traditional style of management geared to the requirements of traditional worker becomes less relevant in so far as the new worker is concerned" (p 140).

The non-Bengali managers have no identification with the aspirations of the Bengalis. "Most of the upper class people enjoy housing, transportation, and medical

facilities which are either provided or subsidized by their companies. Their children go to exclusive schools. Consequently they neither use nor feel the pinch of discomfort of the absence of civic services" (p 144). According to Mr. Vaid it is an undisputed fact that "job to job, Calcutta offers much higher pecuniary rewards to its managers than Bombay or Madras. Thus, we have a situation in Calcutta where in comparison to other industrial centres, managers not only cost more but the earning differentials between managers and the managed are much larger.

"The lack of cultural integration and social alienation of managers with the local community is another feature of the problem. Psychologically, the expatriates and outsiders do not acquire a sense of involvement in the community relations. They tend to take a rather marginal interest in social problems and economic hardships that beset the community. Several managers that we talked to had a fairly sympathetic and objective assessment of the regional problems but felt that these problems were not theirs. They had gone to Calcutta to do their jobs and hoped to get back sooner or later. They did not acquire property or build any economic stakes in the future of the region. Most of them went out of the State during puja vacation. Some of them were quite candid in their remarks and said, "If the local government failed to create conditions in which we feel secure and industry could function reasonably well, we will look for jobs elsewhere". Cr. the whole, the foreign, Marwari, and public sector enterprises which dominate the industrial scene in Calcutta have promoted a managerial class whose economic interests and social concerns are not exactly conducive to the growth of harmonious social relations in the community" (page 18 ).

**Retarded employment growth and growing pauperization of Bengalis.**

The acute unemployment problem in West Bengal is well-known though its true magnitude is far from fully recognised. Despite a heavy backlog of unemployment in the State, employment opportunity grew more slowly in West Bengal than in other states. Between 1948 and 1964 employment in nonagricultural sector in West Bengal grew from 2,974,752 persons to 3,713,840 persons or by 25 per cent compared with 107 per cent for the country as a whole, and 222 per cent in the State of Tamil Nadu and 77 per cent in Maharashtra (page 104). In West Bengal, the number of employees earning Rs. 200/ per month or less decreased from 553,000 in 1960 to 534,000 in 1964, and that of earning Rs. 400 per month showed minor increase only. Furthermore, relatively a larger number of workers fell in higher income group in Maharashtra than in West Bengal" (p 106). Generally the money income of workers in West Bengal was lower than the all India average. There was a growing pauperization of the Bengalis.

### Gheraos

Mr. Vaid has shown that gherao had traditional sanction in Hindu law and was in fact prevalent in West Bengal for sometime before the rest of India took notice of that fact. Gherao assumed such an alarming proportion in West Bengal in 1956—long before the leftists had come to power—as to induce the government to issue a set of instructions to the police to deal with the situation. Tracing the background of the gherao movement in West Bengal in 1967 Mr. Vaid notes the terrible recession that had set in all over the country in 1966 threatening unemployment to thousands of employees. West Bengal

was particularly hit. In the engineering industry, where 40,000 workers were threatened with retrenchment in West Bengal, workers were agitated over the refusal of a large number of the employers to implement the award of the 7th Engineering Omnibus Industrial Tribunal. Mr. Vaid notes that the figures of gheraos provided by the employers were "both inaccurate and inflated" (page 24). Mr. Vaid writes that "Wage levels in West Bengal were generally low in comparison with other states that wages in West Bengal's traditional industry were very low, and that within the same industry, wages of workers employed in the undertakings located in West Bengal were low as compared to those in undertakings elsewhere. (PP 168) Compared to Maharashtra industry in West Bengal has a higher capital investment but lower value added per employed person. The fixed capital invested per unit of value added was also higher in the state in comparison with the rest of the country. Only about 35 per cent of the employment potential of the engineering industry in West Bengal has been utilised.

The first case of 'gherao' in West Bengal after the emergence of the non-Congress Government, took place on 5th March 1967. Between March 1967 and December 1967 there were 962 'gheraos' and the largest number (about 24 per cent of the total) taking place in the pre-puja month of September. There were 488 cases of repeated 'gheraos' of which 126 took place in six enterprises : Indian Iron & Steel Co 41 gheraos, Durgapur Steel Plant 39 ; West Bengal State Electricity Board 18 ; Jay Engineering Works 12, Jessop & Co 9 ; Bengal Electric Lamps 7. The engineering industry suffered the largest number (627) of gheraos, followed by transportation (26) and chemical group of industries (111). By and large small size firms (in terms of employment) suffered more gheraos than the large

and medium size firms. Initially the gheraos were primarily the activity of blue collar workers. However later on office clerks and other white collar workers also joined the fray. About 7.9 per cent of the total gheraos were staged by clerks and white collar workers. "Except in two cases, economic causes constituted the largest single factor for staging gheraos" (p 34). Districtwise analysis shows that only in three districts gheraos erupted on economic issues such as wage increases etc. In nine districts retrenchment, discharge or disciplinary actions were the causes for the eruption of gheraos.

#### Futility of Gherao

In a majority of cases the demands of the workers for which they staged gheraos were not fulfilled by the gheraos. In 58 per cent of the gheraos in the engineering industry the workers failed either to get the demands immediately conceded or to obtain assurances from the employers that their demands would be considered. 96 per cent of the total gheraos were organised or supported or led by trade unions, the AITUC being responsible for 62 per cent, INTUC 12 per cent, UTUC 7 per cent and HMS 4 per cent. Mr. Vaid writes, "the survey of gheraos forcefully brings out a few facts. First gheraos represent a feeling of deep resentment among workers against the failure of authorities—at both the employers and the governmental levels to grant their due to them as established by labour laws or tribunal awards" (p 150).

#### Need for modification of Centre-State relations.

Mr. Vaid's study brings out the terrible impact of the policies of the central government on the fate of a state government. In every state a large section of employees in the central sector falls outside the jurisdiction of the state government. This was particularly true in West Bengal. Moreover "the State

Government which bears the brunt when industrial relations in the central sphere get out of hand cannot intervene unless law and order is threatened. So long as the Centre-State relations remained amiable as a result of the same party rule at both ends, most of the difficulties could be resolved informally through the party machine. However, when different political parties came to power at New Delhi and Calcutta, they became extra-sensitive to their rights and responsibilities. Throughout the year 1967, the Central and State governments talked at cross purposes to each other, interpreted events differently, and each party put the blame on the other. Industrial development through Central planning and the development of the infrastructure and basic resources in the country are bound to increase the role of the Centre in management of resources and the regulation of labour. At the same time, the emerging pattern of political power structure in the country forewarns of a situation where governments at the Centre and in the States may be formed by different political parties, often with conflicting view points and pro-

grammes. Unless the appropriate Constitutional provisions are re-examined and made relevant to the emerging patterns of development and policies, it will be difficult to handle industrial relations and law and order situations efficiently," Mr. Vaid writes. Mr. Vaid has earned the gratitude of serious students of Indian economic development by preparing this excellent study which is rich in factual data and bears evidence of intellectual honesty. His conclusion is that the future of the country can be reassured if "we can render the concept of equity a living reality, make enterprise structures more open and flexible, and above all provide enlightened leadership not only at the top of our governments but also in responsible positions in industry, trade unions, and universities : in short, if we have the will to act, knowledge to guide our actions, and skills to manage change, then we can contain industrial conflicts and social tensions and hope for an orderly development of our society" (p 232). Politicians with the country's good at heart will find much to ponder upon in this book.



## A FORGOTTEN BOOK

D. K. BOSE

Glimpses of English social life in India reminiscent of the days when the 'Saheblok' mixed with the natives of the soil and enjoyed Hookka, are scattered in more books than one written as late as the early 19th century. There is, however, one book which has passed unnoticed by the later historians and to the best of my knowledge has been referred to by one or two English civilians only in their accounts of life in Calcutta and Bengal. The full title of the book is 'The Baboo and other Tales, descriptive of Society in India,' in two volumes published in 1834 in London by Smith, Elder & Co. It contains three tales—The Baboo, Theodore and A man of Sentiment in the Mofussil. The last two are shorter tales. The Baboo runs to about 600 pages.

### Authorship

There is nothing in the book to reveal the name of the author. It was a posthumous publication, and his widow writing the preface says,—"she will be pardoned for withholding at present the declaration of his name." But from a later review of the book it was revealed that the writer was a Bengal civilian, Augustus Princep. The Baboo was written during his illness and amidst the discomfort of a sea-voyage. He did not, however live either to complete the voyage or to give the finishing hand to the tale.

But his widow had it published with the hope "that the tale will possess an interest with that class of readers who personally or indirectly are connected with India." In the preface, she further writes,—"the field of romance there, and the exhibition of the character and manners of the innumerable

classes and tribes, who now own the sway of England in that wide dominion, even the display of the native of Europe in the novel circumstances of his position in Europe have all hitherto been untrodden ground. That the soil, however, is fruitful none will deny who have read the history of the rise of British power in the lively pages of Orme and Seer-i-Mootakhireen; but the hand to gather the flowers and fruit which lie scattered about, and the taste and genius to combine the materials presented, in a form to command the sympathy of the general readers, have been wanted." The preface, which I have quoted at length, will thus give the reader an idea of what to expect in the following pages. I, in fact, was equally attracted by the peculiar title of the book and its preface, to pursue the remaining six hundred pages. It contains a mine of information about English life in India, their observations on Indian life and customs, the institutions, particularly legal, that were growing in India under English care and their working. The book also throws a flood of light on the mentality and character of the native employees of the Englishmen in Office or in household, how they utilised the ignorance of the British civilians of both the Persian and Bengalee languages to their advantage, and amassed money by unscrupulous means feigning honesty all the time and behaving as virtual slaves of the English master. They and some scions of those natives held high positions in society then and after.

The first part of the title of the book i. e. 'The Baboo is, however, a misnomer. The Baboo is Brijmohan Banerjee in the service of

Sir Charles Wroughton. He speaks awful English without the least grammatical sense : a thing that faithfully depicts the state of English education in our country in those days. I hope, I shall not be accused of digression if I refer to a famous Bengali book in this connection. The book is "Ramtanu Lahiri and the then Bengali Society" by Sivnath Sastri. The fourth chapter of that book deals with the growth of English education in Bengal. Sri Sastri narrates—"In those days attention was not given to the study of grammar of the structure of a sentence. English learning consisted in memorising as many English words as possible. In conversation these were uttered disjointedly and with considerable difficulties the English people made out the meaning" (Translated.)

Our Baboo is also an English-knowing man in this sense and is proud of his knowledge. There are more references than one of his cunning, greed and deception. But he is not the central theme of the book. He comes in casually ; and only one chapter is fully devoted to him. It is the English society of Calcutta that has been depicted in the book ; and as such only the last part of the title, 'descriptive of the Society in India' is fully correct. Coming now to the rest of the book itself the first thing that strikes one is the graphic description of the life of the Englishmen in India, more particularly in Calcutta.

A. Horse-racing is almost an English institution introduced by the Britishers wherever they have settled in numbers, Calcutta was no exception. In those days races were held on Sundays and in the morning. The race-course of Calcutta presents a rather singular appearance during the meetings of the Turf Club in December, says our author. The race had not yet earned wide popularity, atleast the betting had not. "Considering the size and the tone of the English society in this beautiful

city", laments the English writer, 'there is perhaps no part of the world to which the national taste has carried this popular amusement with less proportionate display than is to be observed in this Rome of the East. Patrons of the sport are not wanting ; highest prices are given both for Arabian and English horses; yet still the betting stand is scantily attended; and the equipages, which elsewhere constitute the gayest part of the race show, seldom collect on the race mornings in such numbers as daily pace up and down the evening drive.'

B. Another Christian amusement, ball-dance, was also very much in vogue, as expected. Accompanied by masks and fancy-dresses, balls were arranged by the rich ladies, vying with one another in gorgeousness, sometimes with the hope of including a young Briton to propose to a maiden or sometimes to introduce a newly arrived English girl to the society at Calcutta.

C. Speaking about the social habits of the English people at Calcutta in those days our author remarks. The English gentlemen knew the Sunday at Calcutta as a day on which they did not go to office and played a little longer at billiards. Lady Wroughton, wife of Sir Charles, the collector of 24-Parganas complained that not only the natives of India were heathens, even their Christian rules seemed to lose entirely the religious habits of their original church.

D. The author in a number of places in the book wails the characterlessness of the English people in India. "India is a place where hopes and happiness are as uncertain as life itself, where the nature of men becomes changed aye, even to the forgetfulness of former virtues". Licentiousness among the Britons, coming to India as bachelors or leaving their wives at home, was quite common. The book also recounts the relation of a certain

Forester, a military officer with an Afghan maiden smacks of sensuous appetite, a very common feature of the early English settlers and officers in India. There was hardly any meanness any deformity in character, which they did not betray, even going to the extent of forging letters to break off a former engagement. Life was very fast with them. Money they had in abundance ; still they required more money. Some ran into heavy debt beyond redemption. Bribes, nazaranas, presentations were accepted without any compunction. Our author admits—"gold is all powerful, even with these whitefaced conquerors, whose tongues wag so much about the honesty of their system". The luxurious ways of living can best be illustrated by a concrete example. Sir Charles Wroughton was a collector of 24-Parganas. His residence was one of Calcutta's most beautiful viewed within, or from without, it could not fail to charm the sight of strangers. It was a magnificent villa at Garden-reach. Amidst the display of furniture—a few things strike the stranger's eye so forcibly as the picturesque forms and costumes of the numerous native servants ; and above all the silent and graceful manner in which they seem to glide through the apartments. Lady Wroughton assures us that their usefulness, "lights and the parade of servants are no more than what you see in every house". Human labour has been, admittedly, very cheap in India from time immemorial. Even a man of moderate means could afford to have more than one servant. But the ways of the Englishmen were beyond all limit. Use of silver vessels, plates, trays etc. were quite common. That invariably reminds one of the days of Rome when after the Hannibalic wars and the conquest of Spain, in almost every well-to-do Roman household silver and gold-plates were freely used. The East India Company paid its

employees quite handsome salaries ; but not sufficient to roll in luxury. The extra-money came from other sources. Most Englishmen went home to live as Nawabs. But many fell in troubles too. Sir Charles Wroughton, the Collector of 24-Parganas, was one such. But one redeeming aspect of the English character in those days was the amiability. With the Indians of their own rank, of education and culture, Hindus and Mussolmans alike, they mixed quite freely. Inter-dining and inter-marriage are the two signs of castelessness in any society. Inter-marriage was not freely possible, for there were neither intellectual nor religious ties to bind the attachment. But inter-dining was quite common. Segregation and other distinctions between the rulers and the ruled had not yet come to stay completely. Alipore was as much the place of residence of the Englishmen as of many well-to-do Indians. Many Indian habits and customs were freely adopted by the Britons e. g. the hookha and the palanquine.

E. "A chapter of Talk", the 16th chapter, is one of the most important chapters of the book, if not the most important. In the dinner-table at Sir Charles' residence conversation begins on horse-racing with a remark that "Arab horses are not ridden by those who understand their habits best. That serves as a signal to a wordy duel between two guests, each dwelling upon the relative merits of the Hindus and the Mussolmans—their literature, manners, characters, religions, etc. Whether Ram-Ram is more poetical than Allah-Allah, remains, however, unsettled. But the chapter depicts faithfully the interest the early British civilians and military men were taking in the people and their institutions in India. It was a galaxy of indologists, but for whose efforts much of our knowledge about India would have remained in the dark.

F. A full chapter of the book is devoted

to kucherree. It contains an accurate description of a law court in Calcutta in the early 19th century when the British legal system and legal institutions were barely half-a-century old. But for slight changes effected by modern amenities the present day set-up still retains its old character. The lower-courts in Calcutta in particular are exact imitations of the one described in the chapter. A bustling scene of persons having claims to prefer or petitions to present, suitors unable to find places in the chamber sitting on the ground, Mookhtars of all degrees of honesty ready to take up the business of any applicant, the cries of the court peons to ascertain if a certain Mookhtar or a witness is present, the ugly machinations of the Mookhtars to extract money from the clients on one plea or the other (even limiting that Hakims are not above the lure of gold), the feigned importance of the bench clerk—all these are unchanged, rather very modern. There are, however, two points in this court scene which deserve mention.

1. Nobody was permitted in those days to approach the court with his shoes on—a sad commentary on the sense of superiority of the Britishers. Any violation of this standing rule was interpreted as an example of insubordination and contempt of court.

2. There was a strong feeling that the Britishers could go to any length, even sell justice. Only 50 years ago, during the days of the great famine in Bengal, when one-third of her population had died the Britishers openly indulged in profiteering and black-marketing. Money,—more money—was their constant demand. It is not my contention that the native employees of the Company were blameless. But after so much said about British humanity, justice and fairplay, it appears queer that they should stoop so low as to reveal all the base propensities of human

nature in such ugly manner. The suspicion that no top-ranking British civilian could resist the temptation of gold was further strengthened by concrete cases of corruption. In a footnote, our author admits that it had long been a common practice in the Collector's Office in the 24-Parganas to change sheets of *Tubluks* to make out a case according to the wishes of the parties. (*Jamabundee Tubluks* were packets of measurement papers made up of each village separately. These show the possession and rent or *Juma*, of every ryot at the time of measurement and are most important documents for or against them). Only the plaintiff and defendant each filed his copy duly signed and sealed by the Collector, but directly at variance with each other. The Collector was Sir Charles Wroughton.

It was a common practice in those days of every well-to-do Englishman to have his own private *Sirkar* or Treasurer. He maintained the private accounts of his master, carried out orders in arranging parties and above all to fetch money as and when required. This system found many Englishmen involved in heavy debts. At one time the Collector of 24-Parganas was indebted to the extent of 2 lakhs of rupees to his *Sirkar* Baboo Brijmohan Banerjee. Smaller amounts of debts were quite common and for this reason every Englishman took care to protect his *Sircar* in difficulties and shield his shortcomings, however, grave those might be. I have a suspicion that the system of borrowing money from *darwans* at heavy rates of interest by the Baboos of the office was introduced in Calcutta offices at a later time as a replica of the practice of the Englishmen.

The book contains some important references to the character of top-ranking Bengalee Baboos too. With an abundance of money, these profligates maintained garden-houses in the suburbs of Calcutta as known in those

days where vices were committed of all description and magnitude. In fact, the profligacy of rich-men in garden-houses or in and outstation houses in our own days are quite well known and needs no reiteration. The Police Chief at Lalbazar admitted, as recorded in the book—"Those Baboos have their workshops of villainy at some garden-house in the suburb beyond our jurisdiction, while the agents they employ all live within, and they trust to our jealousies and want of concert with the Zilla Magistrates to slide through thus undetected."

I have already said that the title of the book, "Baboo", is a misnomer. In fact, in the picture that has been depicted of the English society in India, it is difficult to see how the Bengalee Baboos come in. There was equality of status between the rulers and the ruled—no general social intercourse, except interdining at times—no intellectual or religious affinities. Unless the author had in mind to depict the impact of English ways on a class of natives of Calcutta—how they aped their English masters in dress partially, in food and drink, in maintaining huge establishments much to the awe and wonder of the lower classes of people ; in profligacy and forgery, in race-going and pleasure hunting, there is no point in naming the book as such. But Brojmohan Banerjee, the unscrupulous rascal, and all his associates, found themselves comfortably lodged behind

the bar for life ; but there is no doubt that their temptations had been considerably roused by spend-thrift Englishmen like the Collector of 24-Parganas.

The life of Mr. Forester that has been portrayed in the book, best illustrates the life and ways of Englishmen in Calcutta in the early years of the last century when they did not shrink from any pleasure and cast all morals and scruples to the wind.

Other references in the book are also quite interesting. Caste prejudice among us was so very strong that even a dying Methor would remain unattended. The strictures of the Englishmen on this inhuman custom of ours are quite appropriate.

Modern Calcutta did not exist even in the imagination of anybody. Kalighat and Ballyganje areas also were unsrequted areas. Grass cutters earned their living here and journeys from Calcutta proper of those days were quite hazardous.

Security was not always assured, not even for Englishmen and women. Lady Wroughton, wife of Sir Charles, warns Eva Eldridge—"always take security when you can get it, it is a contain that their country will teach you, if you have it not already..... Calcutta displays more society than sociality ; and the acquaintances of a ball-room are seldom rivetted by morning friendship."



## SERAMPORE BAPTIST MISSIONARIES AND RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

PRAFULLA KUMAR DAS

In the last quarter of the 18th century, evangelical movement received a great impetus from the Clapham sect ( 1785 ) of England which infused a new life and direction to the Christian movement in India. The founder of the sect, Charles Simson taught a group of youngmen in Trinity college, church in the rooms of a Fellow at Cambridge, the responsibilities of the Christians for the active work of Anglo-Indian ministry. Men like Henry Thornton, Charles Grant and Wilberforce were attracted by his teachings in furthering the cause of Christianity abroad. David Brown, Cladius Buchanan, Henry Martyn, Daniel Corrie and Thomas Thomson, the chaplains on the company's establishment in Bengal imbued the spirit of evangelical doctrine. Eric Stokes enumerated three characteristics of the evangelical mind. They were : " its intense individualism and exaltation of individual conscience, its belief that human character could be suddenly and totally transformed by a direct assault on the mind, and finally its conviction that this required an educative process". The evangelists were representatives of the middle class people who owed their eminence not to inherited wealth but to their own effort and intelligence.

Charles Grant ( President of the Court of Directors ) insisted the Court of Directors in his Observations ( 1792-95 ) on the necessity of introducing European liberal education through the medium of English and diffusion of Christianity to dispel the ignorance of the people of India. He firmly believed that " even a partial diffusion of Christianity would improve the whole mass of society". Wilberforce supported him and when the question of

the renewal of the company's charter arose in 1792-93, he pleaded for the despatch of a group of trained school-masters to India. In Sir John Shore, the Clapham sect found a friend and promoter of the cause of Christianity in India. He granted Mr. Brown permission to erect a church in the Fort. A Clapham society was also established with Thornton, Charles Grant and Venn as its members. In the meantime, the Bible Society was founded and Sir John Shore became its President.

Christianity in India owes a great deal to Mr. William Carey, the founder of Serampore Baptist Mission. He came to India with the evangelical mission of England. Carey's missionary ardour originated in his deep study of Cooke's 'Voyages Round the World'. While he was a teacher of geography at Moulton in 1789, he contemplated the moral and spiritual degradation of the heathen and desired to give the gospels to them. It was due to his sustained effort assisted by Andrew Fuller and John Ryland, the Baptist Missionary Society came into existence on the 2nd October 1792 at Kettering in Northamptonshire "to evangelise the poor, dark, idolatrous heathen, by sending missionaries into different parts of the world....." A committee of five was constituted consisting of Andrew-Fuller, John Ryland, John Sutcliff, Reynold Hogg and William Carey. Mr. Fuller was nominated the secretary and Mr. Hogg, the treasurer of the new body. In that year William Carey wrote his famous tract entitled 'An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use means for the conversion of the Heathens, which constitutes an elaborate scheme of Carey's evangelical mission.

In section III of his Enquiry he divided the world into four—Europe, Asia, Africa and America and on the basis of religion, he divided the population into Christian, Jews, Mahomedan and Pagan. In his calculation, the world population stood in 1792 as follows :

Pagans	—	420 millions
Mahomedans	—	130      ,
Catholics	—	100      ,
Protestants	—	44      ,
Greeks &		
Armenians	—	30      ,
Jews	—	7      ,
		<hr/>
		731 millions

So, according to his analysis, Pagans constituted the majority. Thus it was the bounden duty for every Christian to carry the gospel to the Pagans. After sometimes at Madnyabati in Maldah, then at Khiddirpur, Carey finally settled at Serampore on the 10th January, 1800. A band of baptist missionaries such as Marshman, Ward, Brunsdon, Grant already came there on the 13th October, 1799. The Baptist Mission's work started at Serampore on the 11th January, 1800. In this year, Lord Wellesley started Fort William College for the training of the civilians. In 1801 Carey was appointed as a teacher of Sanskrit and Marathi literature. Within a very short time he compiled grammars of Bengali, Sanskrit. Marathi, Telugu, Panjabi and Oriya languages and dictionaries in Bengali and Marathi. He translated also Sanskrit Hetopodes and the Mahabharata into English and employed Ram Ram Basu, his Munshi, to write a history of Pratapaditya, the first edition of which was published in July, 1801. With the help of Carey, Marshman published English version of the Ramayana in three volumes. They also translated the Bible into different Indian languages. In 1811 William Ward wrote

'Accounts of the Writings, Religion and Manners of Hindoos' in six volumes. In 1818, they established Serampore college to promote the cause of Christianity through education. Their curricula of learning were all comprehensive comprising physics, chemistry, mathematics, geography, history, astronomy. They thought that the Hindu sages taught the mistaken views respecting age and the world, the motions of the heavenly bodies and even the form of the earth. A knowledge of science would help to shake ignorance of the people and thereby erode their faith in those so-called Hindu Pandits. Thus such a knowledge was a powerful auxiliary in the gradual dissolution of idolatry.

That Raja Rammohun Roy watched these activities of the Serampore missionaries with great attention and interest admits of no doubt. In 1801, he read the New Testament translated into Bengali by W. Carey and expressed his curiosity about Carey. Rammohun is said to have visited Serampore in 1816. Before 1820, there was a friendly relation between Rammohun and these missionaries and he rendered them substantial help to their cause of education. He assisted William Adam and Mr. Yates to write the Four Gospels in Bengali. But Mr. Yates declined to do so afterwards. Rammohun gave a piece of land to Eustace Carey for establishing a school. They published some tracts on Sati written by Rammohun at Serampore or Calcutta. He contributed some donations to them for the establishment of a church in the Lower Circular Road. William Adam was so much influenced by Rammohun's religious views that he renounced his faith in Trinity and was converted into Unitarian in 1821. With his help Rammohun established a Unitarian committee and arranged for religious discussions regularly. But Adam's devotion to Unitarianism was not sincere.

Differences raised their ugly heads among them which ultimately led to a rupture between them. Adam left the Unitarian committee. This rudely shocked the Raja who convinced of the utter futility of the Unitarian committee founded the Brahmo Samaj on the 20th August, 1828.

However, the Raja endorsed the Baptist Mission's educational programme which found a sympathetic expression in his letter to Lord Amherst dated the 11th December, 1823. But while he desired English as the medium of instruction, the Serampore missionaries endeavored to apply regional languages as far as possible for the dissemination of western education. They held : "It may not, however be improper previously to remark, that whatever instruction it may be desirable to communicate to them, must be imparted in their own languages. There is good ground to believe that Rammohun was greatly influenced by their social reform ideas. It is interesting to note a striking resemblance between William Ward and Rammohun in respect of thoughts and expressions on social reform. Regarding the evils of idolatry, William Ward wrote : ".....every form and ceremony of religion—all the public festivals etc. etc. have been seized upon as sources of revenue to the Brahmins." Rammohun in his Preface to Isopanishad ( 1816 ) wrote : "Many learned Brahmans are perfectly aware of the idolatory .....But as in the rites, ceremonies and festivals of idolatry, they find the source of their comforts and fortune, they not only never fail to protect idol-worship from all attacks, but even advance and encourage it to the utmost of their power, by keeping the knowledge of their scriptures concealed from the rest of the people." Regarding the evils of caste, Ward expressed : "The institution of the caste, so far from having contributed to the happiness of society, has been one of its greatest

scourges. It is the formation of artificial orders independently of merit or demerit, dooming nine-tenths of the people, before birth, to a state of mental and bodily degradation, in which they are for ever shut out from all the learning and honours of the country." In a letter to Digby dated the 18th January, 1828, Rammohun wrote : "The distinction of castes, introducing innumerable divisions and sub-divisions has entirely deprived them of patriotic feeling, and the multitude of religious rites and ceremonies and the laws of purification have totally disqualified them from undertaking any difficult enterprise."

There is no denying the fact that the rational views of the Protestant Christians had a tremendous impact on the religious thought of Rammohun. E. D. Potts called him a Hindu Protestant as ".....he claimed the right of private judgement in the interpretation of the scriptural foundations of his faith without repudiating their authority. He tried to reconcile individual reason with the scriptures and the individual conscience with social authority." It is evident from the fact that the Raja wrote in his introduction to Kenopanishad that acceptance of traditions of ancient nations i. e. scriptural authorities or pure reason alone, tended to generate a universal doubt, incompatible with principles on which our comfort and happiness mainly would depend. "The best method perhaps", he opined "is neither to give ourselves up exclusively to the guidance of the one or the other ; but by a proper use of the lights furnished by both endeavour to improve our intellectual and moral faculties, relying on the goodness of the Almighty Power....." K. M. Panikkar is of the opinion that "It was the Protestant view of religion that urged Rammohun Roy first to study the Christian scriptures in Greek and Aramaic and then forced him to search the Upanishads directly for the discovery of religious truths." It is,

however, a matter of controversy to accept the total view of K. M. Panikkar because Rammohun published his tracts on the Vedanta and interpretations on Isha, Kena, Katha, Mundaka and Manduka Upanishads within 1815 to 1819 prior to his deep study of the christian scriptures. In 1820 he published 'The Precepts of Jesus, The Guide to Peace and Happiness' which led to a stiff religious polemics with the Baptist missionaries. This conflict urged Rammohun to study vigorously the Bible and other Christian scriptures to find out the fundamental truths of Christianity.

Rammohun felt serious concern over the ceaseless proselytizing activities of the Serampore missionaries. In a letter to a friend of Baltimore, dated the 27th October, 1822, he expressed his anguish and alarm regarding their methods of propagation. In the preface to the first edition of the Brahmunical Magazine (English) No. I published in 1821, he stated about three ways of propagation of Christianity. The first way was publishing and distributing among the natives; various books, large and small, reviling both religions (Hindu and Muslim) and abusing and ridiculing the God, and saints of the former ; the second way was that of standing in front of the doors of the natives or in the public roads to preach the excellency of their own religion and the debasedness of that of others ; the third was that of alluring the people of low origin by offering money or position with a view to encouraging others to become their victims. The above observation of Rammohun was based on sound historical evidences. Between 1800 and 1821, 1407 persons were converted by them. There were twenty Baptist Mission stations in India from 1799 to 1819. One will be surprised to note the number of books freely distributed from the Serampore Printing Office from March 1812 to April 19th, 1814. They translated the Bible

into forty languages and spent fifty thousand rupees for the purpose. The following table will show the free distribution of tracts in different languages in various parts of India in 1830.

#### Bengali

Serampore and its neighbourhood	6817
Dum Dum	425
Banipur	820
Jessore	600
Barisal	1170
Dacca	930
Dinajpore	845
	11,607

#### Hindi

Serampore	100
Barisal	160
Dacca	180
Benarasi	2680
Allahabad	2680
Banipur	2680
Delhi	9600
	18,080

#### Assamese

Assam	2,380
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#### Burmese

Arakan	250
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32,217

The profound religious bent of mind also urged Rammohun to study the Old and the New Testament in Hebrew and Greek. He was highly impressed by the moral code of Christianity and its eloquent emphasis on the teaching of unity of god-head. He was convinced of the fact that trinitarian concepts i. e. God the Father, the son of God and the Holy Ghost, now upheld by the Baptists; obscured the realisation of the true nature of God. Like the Hindu polytheism and image worship they helped to promote different religious

sects jeopardising the texture of society and depriving men of the comfort and happiness of life. On the basis of the New Testament, he wrote in 1820 'The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness'. He thought that this simple code of religion and morality, without distinction of caste, rank or wealth was 'well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to themselves and to society.....'. In a letter to a friend of Baltimore, he expressed his views on Christianity thus: "my view of Christianity is, that in representing all mankind as the children of one eternal father, it enjoins them to love one another, without making any distinction of country, caste, colour or creed....." Again, he wrote to Mr. John Digby: "The consequence of my long and uninterrupted researches into religious truth has been that I have found the doctrines of Christ more conducive to moral principles, and better adapted for the use of rational beings, than any others which have come to my knowledge.....". However, the promulgation of his precepts of Jesus created a great uproar in the Baptist community which led to a stiff religious controversy between Rammohun and those missionaries from 1820 to 1823. Rev. Deocar Schmidt published a review of the precepts in the *Friend of India* (Monthly series, Feb. 1820, Vol. III No. 20) together with a critical note of Dr. Marshman. Again, Dr. Marshman launched a hostile attack on Rammohun in the *Friend of India* (Quarterly series, Sept. 1820, Vol. I, No 1) branding him (Rammohun) a heathen and an injurer of the cause of truth. They held that moral doctrines of the New Testament were inseparable from the mysterious dogmas and historical parts because moral teachings of Christ alone were not conducive to man's salvation. Secondly, they thought that forgiveness of sins, the favour of God,

repentance, atonement would inspire to promote strength to overcome human passions. Thirdly, they contemplated that in pursuit of the Divine commandments; it was impossible to obtain strength without the knowledge of the mysterious dogmas and historical parts of the New Testament.

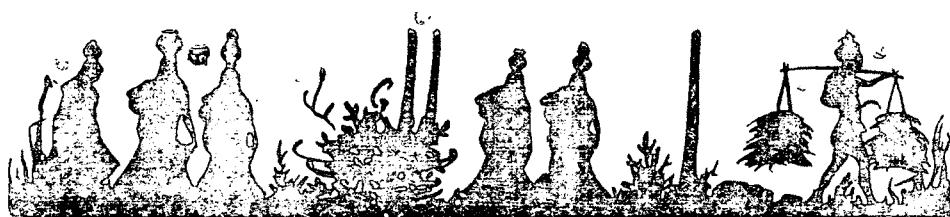
Rammohun registered his protest against the unchristian like and uncivil behaviour of Dr. Marshman utterly devoid of truth, charity and liberality, essential characteristics of Christianity. He wrote an Appeal to the Christian public in defence of the Precepts in 1820 and refuted the charges directed against him. In the first place, he said that his moral code was also applicable to the discharge of various duties of God. He firmly believed that this moral code alone, independent of dogmas and historical matter, was a surer guide to peace and happiness. Secondly, he thought that the precepts contained not only the essence of all that was necessary to instruct mankind in their civil duties, but also the best and only means of obtaining forgiveness of our sins, the favour of God and the strength to overcome our passions. Thirdly, he maintained that 'earnest prayer and hearty desire' provided us with strength and power to overcome passions and to keep the commandments of God. Thus a prolonged controversy ensued and the Raja wrote the second (1821) and Final Appeal to the Christian public (1823) refuting the charges of Dr. Marshman in the *Friend of India*.

Another controversy with the Serampore missionaries also started when a letter was published in the Serampore Mission Press "Samachar Darpan" (weekly) on the 14th July, 1921 casting humiliating reflections on the Hindu *Sastras*. Rammohun sent a reply but the Serampore mission authorities refused its insertion. So the Raja resolved to publish the *Brahmuncical Magazine* both in Bengali

and English in 1821. In the first issue of the Magazine, he refuted the charges directed against the Hindu Sastras, mainly Vedas. In the Second Number (1821) he answered the objections urged against the Puranas and Tantras or Historical Illustrations of the Hindu Mythology showing that the doctrines of the former were much more rational than those which the missionaries professed. To this the missionaries made a rejoinder in the Friend of India No. 38. As a reply to this Rammohun published the third Number of the Magazine. But the missionaries remained quite silent for two years which convinced Rammohun that his arguments were unanswerable. So in 1823 he published the fourth Number in English only so that the learned Christians in Europe as well as in Asia would be able to form their opinion on the subject. In these controversies, Rammohun was very much shocked at the intolerant attitude of the missionaries. In the preface to the second edition of the Magazine (Eng.) he wrote that no other nations were more tolerant than the Hindus who believed in the equality of all men and who embraced the good of every religion. In explaining the objective of publishing the Brahmunical Magazine he wrote: "it cannot be imagined that the object in publishing this magazine

was to oppose Christianity; but I was influenced by the conviction that persons who travel to a distant country for the purpose of overturning the opinions of its inhabitants and introducing their own, ought to be prepared to demonstrate that the latter are more reasonable than the former." In the preface to the fourth Number, he requested them "you should not throw offensive reflections upon the religion of others." Thus Rammohun's unceasing crusade against the missionaries considerably stemmed the tide of the progress of Christianity in India. E. D. Potts rightly observed: "Without a Rammohun Roy, Christianity very probably would have made much more rapid formal progress than it did."

The most significant result of this was the exposition of the fundamental truths of the Vedas and the Vedanta with a critical appreciation of them. Thus a reconciliation between reason and the scriptures constitutes the very keynote of the 19th century Bengal Renaissance. Last and not least was that it laid the foundation of the study of Comparative Religion and Theology which forms not only the basis of Rammohun's Universal Religion but also brings about a harmony between the East and the West.



## CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

M. SALEEM KIDWAI

India is a multi-religious, multi-racial, multi-cultural and multi-lingual country. It contains a bewildering variety of minority groups which differentiate themselves on grounds of religion, caste, creed and language etc. In order that these minority groups should live in peace, that they should contribute whole-heartedly to the composite culture of the country, the founding fathers of the Indian constitution decided to adopt a separate group of articles dealing with the rights of minorities. While the impact of other rights contained in Part III of the constitution is on the people of India as a whole, that of these rights is only on the minorities. The rights of minorities as guaranteed in the Indian constitution may be classified under three separate heads—

- (i) religious, (ii) cultural and (iii) educational.

### Religious Rights of Minorities

Religion plays an all pervasive and dominant role in the life of individual citizens in this country. Social traditions and norms of conduct and several important social institutions have religious sanctions. The constitution of India guarantees freedom of religion, forbids religious discrimination on the part of the state and prohibits taxation for the support of religious institutions. The freedoms provided in Articles 25, 26, 27 and 28 have been conceived in most generous terms to the complete satisfaction of religious minorities. These provisions embodied in detail one of the objectives of the constitution declared in the Preamble; "to secure to all its citizens .....Liberty of faith, belief and worship."

Religious freedom has both an individual

as well as a corporate side. However, the state has to face many difficulties in practising 'non-interference' in religious matters in an individual's life. At times the state has to legislate with regard to various aspects of social life and organised religious institutions in the interests of social justice, social good, public order, health and morality. A number of such laws passed by the Legislature have been challenged in the courts of law on the ground of infringement of religious freedom by the state. The Indian Supreme Court had to decide several cases requiring the interpretation of the "religious freedom" as guaranteed in the constitution to individuals as well as to the organised religious institutions.

While interpreting the various clauses of the constitution relating to the different aspects of religious freedom one of the delicate questions before the judiciary has been the definition of the word 'religion.' The Indian constitution does not define it and the judiciary has been left to define and interpret it. The American Supreme court defined the word religion in following words:

"The term 'religion' has reference to one's views of his relations to his creator, and to the obligations they impose of reverence for His being and character and of obedience to His will."<sup>1</sup>

But the Indian Supreme Court considered this definition inadequate and observed:

"There are well-known religions in India like Buddhism and Jainism which do not believe in God or in any intelligence First Cause."<sup>2</sup>

In the United States, it has been left to the individual to determine what is religion for him.

In a leading case the American Supreme Court observed:

"Men may believe what they cannot prove. They may not be put to the proof of their religious doctrines or beliefs."<sup>1</sup>

Thus, in the USA the freedom of 'belief' is defended, but not the religious practices. On the other hand in India, the Supreme Court recognises that the religious practices which are 'essential' in a religion are to be given at least relative freedom and what an 'essential' practice is, decided by a reference to the doctrines of the religion itself. While commenting on the scope of Art. 25 the Supreme Court held:

"Article 25 guarantees to every person freedom of conscience. Thus every person has a fundamental right under our constitution not merely to entertain such religious belief as may be approved of by his judgement or conscience but to exhibit his belief and ideas in such overt acts as are enjoined or sanctioned by his religion."<sup>4</sup>

In another case the court observed :

"What constitutes the essential part of a religion is primarily to be ascertained with reference to the doctrines of that religion."<sup>5</sup>

The above-cited extracts show that the Indian supreme court has recognised the importance of those religious practices which are 'essential' in a religion. However, it has made a distinction between essential and non-essential religious practices. For example in the famous case of M. H. Qureshi V. State of Bihar, the court held that the slaughter of cow was not an obligatory act on Bakr-id day. The same distinction between essential and non-essential religious practices was reiterated in the leading case of Durgah Committee, Ajmer V. Hussain Ali in 1961.

To sum up, it may be said that religious

freedom guaranteed to the citizen and an attempt on the part of the state to reform social life often results in conflict between the citizen and the state. It is the duty of the judiciary to maintain a delicate balance. An analysis of the role of the Indian supreme court as a protector of citizen's freedom of religion demonstrates that the court has been performing this duty appreciably by up-holding the freedom of belief and by laying down that though essential religious practices cannot be regulated by state legislation, non-essential religious practices can be.

#### Cultural Rights of Minorities :

The framers of the Indian Constitution gave the term "minority" a wide connotation. Under the Indian Constitution a minority has been recognised as such not only on the basis of religion but also on language, script or culture. Thus, the constitution provides that "the personal script, language and culture shall be preserved, even of a minority group. No other group, even if it be the majority in the country shall impose its own language, script or culture on the minorities."<sup>6</sup> Clause (2) of the same Article guarantees equal treatment to all citizens in the matter of admission of educational institutions maintained by state or receiving state aid. Clause (1) clearly means that if there is a "cultural" minority which wants to preserve its language, script and culture, the state shall not impose upon it any other culture which may be local or otherwise. Clause (2) is a counterpart of the equality clause of Article 15. The Supreme Court of India in a number of cases held that a minority community can effectively conserve its language, script or culture by and through educational institutions.

#### Educational Rights of Minorities :

Clause (1) of Article 30 guarantees that "All minorities based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer

educational institutions of their choice." Clause (2) of the same Article provides that the state shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority whether based on religion or language." The fact that the constitution does not impose any express restriction in the scope of the enjoyment of this right, unlike most of the rights included in Fundamental Rights chapter, shows that the framers of the Indian constitution intended to make its scope unfettered. This article guarantees in absolute terms the right of linguistic and religious minorities to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice and, at the same time claim grants-in-aid without any discrimination. In a famous case the Supreme Court had strict warning that power of control of a community over its institutions should not be taken away under the excuse of public or national interest otherwise :

"the rights guaranteed under Article 30 (1) of the constitution will be but a teasing illusion and a promise of unreality."<sup>7</sup>

The pleas that by financing a minority institution the state gets right to manage it too was blown up by the court in the leading Kerala Education Bill case in these words :

"No educational institution can in actual practice be carried on without aid from the state and if they will not get it without surrendering their rights, they will by compulsion of financial necessity be compelled to give up their rights under Article 30 (1)."<sup>8</sup>

The above-mentioned rights guaranteed under religious, educational and cultural spheres are unique in their thoroughness. These rights have been couched in the most comprehensive language. There is nothing comparable to them in the Bill of Rights of the American constitution. A careful analysis of these provisions makes it abundantly clear

that the maximum possible freedom has been guaranteed to the minorities. The democratic basis of our constitution would be lost if the minorities were not given adequate protection to preserve their religious beliefs, and the institutions of education and culture.

The architects of the Indian Constitution were farsighted enough to remember that the chief characteristic of the Indian body politic has been "unity in diversity". The makers of the constitution, having regard to the past history of India and the peculiar circumstances prevailing in India wisely decided to incorporate these rights in Fundamental Rights chapter. The sole purpose of these rights is to infuse complete confidence in the minorities and to reassure them that certain special interests of them which they cherish as fundamental to their life are safe in the constitution. We may conclude our discussion by citing Mr. S. R. Das, a former chief Justice of the Indian Supreme Court. While delivering the judgement in the famous Kerala Education Bill case, the learned Chief Justice rightly remarked :

"There can be no manner of doubt that our constitution has guaranteed certain cherished rights of the minorities concerning their language, culture and religion. These concessions must have been made to them for good and valid reasons."<sup>9</sup>

1. Davis V. Beason, 133 U. S. 333 at 342 1889.
2. AIR 1954 SC 282 at 290.
3. United States V. Ballard, 322 US 78,88,1148 at 85.
4. Ratilal V. State of Bombay, AIR 1954 SC 388-391.
5. AIR 1954 SC 282 at 289.
6. AIR 1958 SC 731 at 740.
7. Article 29 clause (1).
8. AIR 1963 SC 540.
9. AIR 1958 SC 956.
10. AIR 1958 SC 956.

# UNION STATES FINANCIAL RELATIONS ON THE CROSS-ROADS

DR. K. M. RASTOGI

## I

India is a federal country and relationship between the Centre and the States ranges over a wide area. Amongst all, the fiscal relations between them are the most difficult problems. A detailed study of financial relations will require a voluminous thesis and hence, in this short paper, only those factors will be examined which have created a tension in Centre State financial relations. Therefore, I shall critically examine various causes and cures of fiscal tension between the Centre and the States.

The Union-States fiscal relations are passing through the most critical stage since the fourth general elections in February 1967, when in several states non-Congress Governments returned to power. There has been a considerable change in the matrix of Centre-States fiscal relations since the provisions of the Constitution in this regard were settled. The post 1967 election set-up has given a new turn and calls for review of the fiscal relationship. Now the stage has come when it is no longer possible to take a casual view of Centre-State fiscal relations. The demand for more financial autonomy under the leadership of Tamil Nadu supported by several non-Congress ruled states is now again getting momentum and even the Congress ruled states have started to raise their voice to support the demand.

## II

### Genesis and growth of Strenuous financial Relations

Before analysing the genesis and growth of Centre-State fiscal tension it will be in the fitness of things that we first analyse the

special features of financial adjustment and devolution. The financial structure of the federal state of India is leaning towards the Centre in as much as some of major and productive sources of revenue such as Customs, Excise and Income Tax (including Corporation Tax) are on the Union list, while inelastic sources of income have been assigned to States which are insufficient to meet the responsibilities which they had to shoulder in meeting the needs and growing aspirations of their citizens. Thus, the Constitutional division of finance is not fair to the states. One can not deny that the financial autonomy of the Centre and the States is vital to the preservation of the federal principle, but that is lacking in Indian federalism. States have been forced to be financially dependent on the Centre to an excessive degree. The Rajamannar Committee on Centre-States relations, set up by Tamil Nadu Government in its report has very exhaustively dealt with the problem of Centre-State financial relations. "It is that main reasons for increasing reliance of the States on the Centre were (a) the resources for raising funds available to the states are comparatively inelastic and inadequate ; (b) the functions allocated to the States involve expanding responsibilities, particularly in the context of ambitious development plans and subsequently increasing expenditure ; (c) important for national plan financing are foreign aid and deficit financing both tending to strengthen Centre rather than States' resources." What aggrieved them more was that they do not get adequate advantage of economic development in terms of revenue. Similarly, ARC (study team on

Centre-State relationship) has also observed that States are financially too much dependent on the Centre. "The allocation of resources and functions in the Constitution has consistently produced surpluses at the Centre and deficits in the States. Exact correspondence of resources and functions is not possible to secure in any federal situation but in India the balance is tilted rather heavily in favour of the Centre and the outstanding feature of the financial relationship between the Centre and the States consequently is that the former is always the giver and the latter the receiver."

Under the above background, it is obvious that the financial mal-adjustment exists Constitutionally in India and it seems that there is genuinity in the States' complaint against the Centre. Thus, it is obvious that financial mal-adjustment was there from the very beginning but one party rule in the Centre and States did not bring it on the forefront. In the changed post 1967 election setup, the States have initiated a chorus for more and more financial powers and to review financial relations. For the first time in September 1967, at the meeting of N. D. C. the Chief Minister of Non-Congress ruled States were agitated regarding the financial injustice which was being done to them by the Centre causing them financial difficulties. Late C. N. Annadurai the then C. M. of Tamil Nadu demanded more power in the field of taxation. N. E. S. Namboodripad, the then Chief Minister of Kerala, demanded a permanent Finance Commission, which was supported by other Chief Ministers also. The Chief Minister of Orissa had gone a step further and demanded that States should have a voice in economic policies, particularly in regard to the investment of funds by the Central Government Institutions. In short, the demand for more financial powers and to review again the Union-States financial

relations has created tension in their relations. Tamil Nadu Government further added fuel to the fire by appointing the Rajamannar Committee on Centre-States relations, whose report had justified the demand for autonomy and made their relations more difficult. It has evoked a lively controversy in political quarters. The demand for more financial powers was supported by the various political parties which is evident from their manifestos released just before the Fifth general elections in the States in 1972. Akalidai (Sant group) demanded the States to have powers to levy taxes which were realised by the Centre. In its supplementary manifesto the Socialist Party also demanded State autonomy. Kerala Congress raised a new slogan—"A strong Centre and contented States." It argued that federal system of Government with discontented States, would lead to disintegration. Old Congress leader M. S. Gurupad Swamy alleged that Congress wanted to create 'Satellite States' and 'Client Governments' in the name of 'Stable Governments'. Similarly the Jansangh and C. P. M. in their manifestos talked for more and more statutory devolution to the States. In January 1972, the Governors of Two Southern States Mysore and Tamil Nadu, forcefully brought to the surface the continuing tension between Centre and States on the allocation of financial resources.

### III

#### Centre-State financial Tug-of-War

In the preceding section, the genesis and growth of fiscal tension between the Centre and States has been reviewed. Now, let us examine the area of those various fiscal points which have caused a tension in their financial relations. We shall critically bring forth various points for and against the demand for financial autonomy.

States Case : States Governments demand-

ding financial autonomy put forth the following points in support of their demands:—

(1) Inelastic and inadequate resources—it is a general complaint of the States that "financial structure of the country is heavily weighted in favour of the Centre, the three major expanding resources of revenues, namely Customs, Excise and Income Tax being on the Union list. Revenue resources allocated to the States are relatively unimportant and inelastic and hence, the shortfall between the total expenditure of the States—Plan and non plan, and receipts from taxes and revenues available is great." Financial resources of the States do not correspond with their executive duties which increase with passage of time and with economic prosperity in every field of life—social, political and economic. With the advent of planning, the position has worsened and foreign aid and deficit financing, both are for the benefit of the Centre, Thus, the main grievance of the States has been that the heads of taxation allotted to them have proved inadequate to meet their liabilities which has made them too much dependent financially on the Centre. Under the financial stringency the States have been pressing for the inclusion of the surcharge levied on Income Tax under Article 272, also in the divisible pool. It is also a serious complaint of the States that the Centre is not very enthusiastic about the realisation of the taxes and duties under article 269, because the Centre does not derive any benefit from them. It is also argued by the States that those resources, whose revenues expand with the progress and prosperity of the nation due to economic planning, are retained by the Centre and thus, they have been denied any share of the fruits of national progress and prosperity.

**II. Financial Devolution :** The Centre has a whip in its hand in the nature of grants. The massive use of Article 282, for discre-

tionary grants and its scope in relation to that of Article 275 which deals with statutory grants has come in for considerable tension between the Centre and the States. In financial relation under this Article 282 has come to play the most crucial part, because grants under this Article are given by the Centre at its discretion. Grants under Article 275, which are of the nature of assured grants to States, are determined by the Finance Commission which is constituted once in every five years, makes assessments of the needs of the States. But the grants under Article 282 are given for the Plan and development purposes to the States. This grant is controlled and allotted by the Planning Commission and there is a marked difference between the approaches of the two bodies. The power which the Central Government have assumed in regard to mobilisation, allocation and pattern of utilisation of resources for Plan have reduced the States to the status of supplicants for aid from the Centre. The States complain that the Plan allocation is left entirely to the whims and fancies of the members of the Planning body and political considerations are more active there. Moreover, the grants are conditional and circumscribe the freedom of the States in the matter of formulating plans according to individual needs. These grants have completely eclipsed the Statutory grants. The discretionary grants constituted 61.6%, 50.8% and 71.3% of the total grants paid by the Centre to the States in the First, Second and Third plan period respectively. Thus, this predominance of discretionary grants has given the Centre a powerful leverage in influencing the policies and programmes of the States ; which is a constant source of irritation and bitterness in the realm of finance and Planning between the Centre and States.

"Still more important, however, is the

issue of economic power in a planned economy. Government at the Centre has a major say in determining Plan priorities, location of industries, incentive to industries, and cognate matters. According to Amal Ray "Central Control tends to create tension to relation between the Centre and States." Thus, the total devolution is hardly sufficient to meet fully even the non Plan needs of the states.

**III. Problem of Indebtedness or 'Reverse flow of aid' :** Yet another important cause of financial tension is the massive indebtedness of the States to the Centre and unfettered drawing of overdrafts from the Reserve Bank of India. The periodic increase in States indebtedness net and gross, will be clear from the following table.

#### Centre Loans to States

	1960-61	65-66	66-67	67-68	68-69	69-70	70-71
Loans from Centre	345.7	816.1	918.1	857.9	863.9	1029.5	1021.8
Re-payment of loans to Centre	114.3	285.2	292.1	370.9	554.2	607.8	659.2
Net Loans	231.4	530.9	626.0	487.0	309.7	421.7	362.6

It is evident from the above table that though the quantum of loans records a steady rise, yet there is not much increase in the net amount of loans available to the States. A major portion of it goes back to the Centre by way of repayment of loans. Thus, there is a 'reverse flow of aid ; from States to the Centre. Tamil Nadu government complained that in 1971-72, the States total repayment of debt to the Centre had risen to about Rs. 65 crores while the Central assistance was only of Rs. 40 Crores. The Governor of the State Mr. K. K. Shah further elaborated this 'reverse flow of aid' "During the Plan period of

our total repayment to the Centre come to nearly 154.9 Crores as against the anticipated loan from the Centre is only Rs. 141.00 Crores."

**States Over-drafts :** To meet their financial needs which the states find difficult to do from their normal revenue and Centre's aid, they resort to the method of drawing overdrafts from Reserve Bank of India. This problem of unauthorised overdrafts has assumed a serious proportion. Central Government was much perturbed with the mounting figure of these over-drafts of the States and adopted a liberal attitude since 1968 in giving assistance under article 282 and other special assistance to avoid over-drafts. Inspite of all these, the unauthorised overdrafts of the States persisted. By June 1971, they reached the figure of Rs. 371 Crores. Centre became alarmed and with great effort, gave nearly Rs. 200 Crores to various States to clear off most of their overdrafts and extracted a promise not to ask

the Reserve Bank for any more over-drafts. But by the end of September 71, State governments had run up fresh overdrafts totaling to Rs. 168 Crores and by November 1971, these fresh overdrafts touched the new height of Rs. 254 Crores. On 5th November 1971, the harassed Reserve Bank of India again complained to the Centre. These overdrafts touched their highest new point of Rs. 470.79 Crores on March 27, 1972. This was a four-fold increase in the past two years.

The statewise position of overdrafts as on March 31, 1972 was as under :—

Andhra Pradesh	Rs. 86.76 Crores
Assam	36.64 ,,"
Bihar	32.09 ,,"
Haryana	19.26 ,,"
Kerala	41.35 ,,"
Maharashtra	13.03 ,,"
Meghalaya	00.95 ,,"
Mysore	79.06 ,,"
Rajasthan	96.30 ,,"
Tamil Nadu	74.65 ,,"

Ultimately, Central Government finding herself unable to persuade the States to minimise or avoid the overdrafts of this dangerous type of deficit financing, with reluctance put a blanket ban on overdrafts from Reserve Bank of India with effect from 1st April 1972. Thus, the era of overdraft was over. The Centre has also appointed a study group to suggest suitable measures to control these overdrafts.

Now, the question arises, why was the Centre too harsh in taking this drastic step and putting a blanket ban on the over-drafts on State Governments which is against all canons of Public Finance? The reason is that, these over-drafts are nothing but created money or deficit financing which creates a serious situation. Thus, in India there are 19 other authorities which increase the supply of money through deficit financing. On this point the 5th Finance Commission noted that, "No country with unified Currency System can afford to have more than one independent authority taking measures which result in increase in money supply." Thus, resorting to overdrafts and banning them by the Centre is another point of fiscal dispute between the Centre and States.

**Centre's Arguments :** On Financial matters the Centre has their own point of view. There is a reverse flow of complaint against the State Governments.

It is argued that State Governments are

habituated to blame the Centre for their financial difficulties. But there is no denying that they have been not so energetic in raising additional resources and some State Governments had actually eroded existing revenue resources. Instead of raising new resources and exploiting the existing resources they resort to deficit financing through unauthorised overdrafts for meeting commitments. Every year State Governments Budgets disclose gaping deficits on revenue and capital accounts. Another complicating factor is the attempt of political groups to win the support of Government Employees by increasing their emoluments. This further swells the State expenditure. The Centre's contention is that State Governments failure to tax the agriculture sector which has been responsible for much growth in national income in recent years, is the main reason for their current resource crises. The Centre has failed to persuade the States to exploit their productive sources of income which they do not dare to touch on political grounds. Only eight States are levying the agricultural Income Tax. What injured more is the abolition of land tax by most of the States to catch the Votes of the rural population.

**Appointment of K. N. Raj committee :** The Central Government put forth a suggestion before the Chief Ministers of the States to part with the agricultural Income Tax in favour of the Centre, which constitutionally belongs to States, But it was cold shouldered. The Centre assured the States that the entire income collected from it would be made over to them. The harassed Central Government ultimately appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. K. N. Raj, the noted economist of India and the former Vice Chancellor of Delhi University, to go into the mechanics of taxing farm income on a rational basis. The major point to be considered by the Raj Committee

was, whether the tax should be levied by the Centre or by the States. The findings of the Committee are now available to us.

Centre's argument in keeping elastic and productive sources of income is that they had to shoulder urgent type of responsibilities in the wider interest of the country and for maintaining national unity and integrity. Secondly, it is further argued that Central Government is responsible and committed to bringing about socio-economic transformation in the entire country. Moreover, the events in the last decade in the country when she had to fight three wars against our neighbours, have necessitated the need for a strong Centre. In the country there is wide spread regional disparity in every walk of life, therefore, for rapid and unified growth and social justice the Centre needs more resources and fiscal powers. Thus, the case of the Centre for more and elastic financial resources is fully convincing.

#### IV

To Sum up, it is true that the advocates of financial autonomy for the States could possibly have maintained that the constitutional provisions and practices dealing with financial and economic matters were the real sources of friction. They have made out their case in a very convincing way and one can, as far as fiscal matters are concerned, conclude that there is some ground for their reexamination and readjustment. But it is not fair. It will not be any exaggeration to point out that the States' behaviour is not responsible. Instead of financially depending on the Centre they should exploit to the optimum their financial resources rather than run after more power and aid. They should use their own taxing

power most vigorously. They should give up the policy of reduction or remitting taxes like land revenue and property taxes to appease the electorate. It is a strange anomaly when one finds that on the one hand States are taking steps to reduce their financial resources, while on the other hand, they are crazy over more and more financial powers and prerogatives.

It will be prejudicial to conclude that the States' demands for financial autonomy is altogether politically motivated. One cannot have a casual view of Centre States fiscal relations. They need review and readjustment. "The creation of a Planning Commission by an executive order of the Central Government, which was not evidently contemplated at the time of drafting the Constitution, which has thrown into the back-ground the Finance Commission, has further made difficult their financial relations. One can not deny that the resources for raising funds available to the States are comparatively inadequate and inelastic while functions allocated to the State involve expanding financial responsibilities. This imbalance is to be remedied.

Thus in the end we conclude with the observations of the Study Team appointed by the Administrative Reforms Commission.

"Shortcomings are thus discernible in the existing system. The two major draw backs are the excessive financial dependence of the States on the Centre and the faulty mechanism of devolving funds. A review of existing system is called for to give the States a position that is self respecting at the same time consistent with the strong Centre concept."

## JOINT SECTOR

M. KUTUMBA RAO

The Government's policy on the much debated and controversial joint sector spelt out recently as a part of the new industrial policy is known for its clarity and rigidity. The joint sector, the Government says, will be a promotional instrument with the stress on helping new and medium entrepreneurs to build up a priority industry. The Government also categorically says that this sector will not be permitted to be used for the entry of larger houses, dominant undertakings and foreign companies in industries in which they are otherwise precluded on their own. Regarding the management of joint sector units, the Government says that in all different kinds of joint sector units, the Government will ensure for itself an effective role in guiding policies, management and operations, the actual pattern and mode being decided as appropriate in each case.

The joint sector concept suggested as far back as in 1969 by the Industrial Licensing Policy Enquiry Committee headed by Sri S. Dutt and accepted in principle by the Government and now being strongly supported by the big business houses including the Tatas implies that all big industrial houses which are at present in the private sector and being largely financed by Government shall be brought under the joint sector in which the State will participate as a major partner but will let the private sector continue to stay as a minor partner. The Dutt Committee was of the view that many big private enterprises were borrowing funds from public financial institutions at a relatively lower rate and thus feathering their own nests and as such felt that the State should have a say in the manage-

ment of such enterprises where the funds involved were of a considerable size.

### Not a New Concept :

There is nothing new about joint sector concept. It is paradoxical that the Industrial Policy Resolutions of 1948 and 1956 had provided for the emergence of areas of joint operation of State and private sectors in the industrial field. The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948, which for the first time demarcated the respective areas of industrial activity for the State and private sectors, conceded that even in case of industries for which the State is exclusively responsible for the establishment of new undertakings the State may secure the co-operation of private enterprise subject to such control and regulation as it thinks fit. However, it did not define the forms of such a co-operation. Nor did it evolve a scheme to work out such control and regulation. Later on came the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 which classified industries into three categories, having regard to the part which the State would play in each of them. With regard to industries in the first Category ( Schedule A of the Resolution ) in which all new units were to be set up only by the State, the Resolution did not preclude the expansion of the existing privately owned units or the possibility of the State securing the co-operation of private enterprise in the establishment of new units, when the national interests so require.

A note-worthy distinction between Industrial Policy Resolutions of 1948 and 56 is that the latter made obvious the possible forms of co-operation between public and private sectors. "Whenever Co-operation with private

enterprise is necessary, the State will ensure either through majority participation in the capital or otherwise, that it has the requisite powers to guide the policy and control the operations of the undertaking". In so far as industries in the third category which were left to the initiative and enterprise of private enterprises are also concerned, State participation was envisaged, if necessary, either through participation in equity or debenture capital. Hence a discerning look at the two policy resolutions makes clear that the strategy of industrial development in our country has admitted from the very beginning the emergence of areas of joint activity in both sectors. The provision of converting loans into equity, which almost all the public financial institutions are now writing in most of their agreements, also lays down the basis of the emergence of a joint sector in future. From the above analysis it becomes clear that the joint sector concept is not entirely new. Nevertheless, it has come on the scene at the right time. As industrial growth in India is deepening and widening, it is being increasingly realised that large and complex industrial organisations are inevitable and in this respect in appropriate cases the concept of joint sector is being increasingly expounded.

#### Case for Joint Sector :

The case for joint sector may well be understood by having a peep into the growth of private sector in India since the beginning of the planning era. One may be amazed to note that it is the private sector that has made more inroads into the State sector than otherwise. Taking advantage of the ill-conceived and ill-manned policies of the Government, the private sector has grown considerably during the two decades of planning in India. The private sector is outweighing till date the

public sector in so far as contribution to net domestic product and net value added to domestic product are concerned. It still has command over a huge percentage of the total capital employed in the Indian corporate sector. A scrutiny of loans allowed by various public financial institutions to various industrial houses makes obvious that monopoly houses are indeed the major clients of the Government financial institutions. What then is to be done with the private sector? The possible alternative may seem to be the take over of the entire sector by the Government. But it cannot happen because neither objective nor subjective conditions for such a measure exist in the country to-day. It is also clear that the public sector is far too weak to go all along with an economic development programme accepted by the nation. So the emergence of a joint sector is believed to be a fair solution to the problem. The joint sector concept is expected to (1) serve better the accepted national objectives (2) prevent concentration of economic power in a few hands (3) offer scope to man industries more efficiently by utilising the managerial and technical skill of the private entrepreneurs and (4) enable the private concerns too to expand their activities and programmes as they will get green signal for their expansion without any hitch.

#### Capital :

The guidelines issued by the Ministry of Industrial Development to State Governments recently, related only to financial structure of the projects to be set up in the joint sector and association of the private entrepreneurs in the share capital. They say that the Government Corporations are allowed to hold in joint enterprises not less than 26 per cent of the equity and no other private individual will have more than 25 per cent of equity. This is

all with regard to industrial houses other than larger ones. In case of larger ones they will require Central clearance and will be considered on the lines already laid down

#### Management :

The question of management is of primary importance. As a matter of fact it is in the field of management that the real bone of contention lies because Mr. Tata insists that in a joint sector enterprise the day to day management should remain in the hands of the private partner and should in any case, not be burdened with the cumbersome and time consuming procedures enforced in public enterprises, while the Government is very firm in not allowing any concessions to the private sector with regard to its participation in the management of joint sector industrial units. A proposal of the Ministry of Industrial Development to permit, in specified industries, joint sector units whose management will be fully in private hands was rejected outright very recently at the highest level.

As noted earlier the Government emphasises that in all kinds of joint sector units, it will ensure for itself an effective role in guiding policies, management and operations, the actual pattern and mode being decided as appropriate in each case. It is difficult to forecast at this stage how the private sector would react to this rigid stand of the Government. It is silly to think that the Government would participate in day to day management of every enterprise in which it holds a portion of the capital. It is common knowledge that even in a wholly private sector institution the capitalist would not be interfering in the affairs of the individual units of his institution or the branches thereof, day in and day out. Managers do enjoy within their spheres, independence of authority and powers to take decisions. Likewise in a joint enterprise too at the lower and middle management levels,

the professionals will have to take care of the enterprise, while at the top level i. e., the decision making level, the Government will have to exercise a strategic control.

Professionalisation of management is an essential prerequisite of modern industry. The selection of personnel, their remuneration terms of appointment, responsibilities and authority, promotion and accountability should be governed by well accepted concepts of modern management. The joint enterprise should run on commercial principles and all policy decisions must be taken at the board level and not in New Delhi or elsewhere.

The Board of Directors of joint sector units will comprise the representatives of the Government, the public financial institutions and the private partner. Now the question is what will be the proportion at which representation will be allowed and also the respective powers and responsibilities and what will be the safeguards against State interference. It is also necessary to lay down in the Articles of Association of every joint enterprise the role of the three partners and the autonomy which will be allowed to the managing director. As of now, many agreements provide the Chairman to be nominated by the State and the managing director by the private partner. Although, the idea behind this is to prevent possible conflict between the functionaries, ways and means have to be found to prevent them from becoming 'split personalities' meaning thereby dual control and the consequent loss of efficiency. So it is essential that the joint sector should be based on as great a measure of functional autonomy as practicable. Interference from the Government, departmental delays and inquisitional probes should be reduced to a minimum. The Government's object should not be to acquire a controlling interest, but so secure co-operation and managerial competence of the non-

Government components. To the extent that the joint sector becomes a happy synthesis of the best in both private and public sectors, the experiment can well succeed.

#### No Substitute for Public Sector :

The fervent support lent to the joint sector concept by Sri J. R. D. Tata and his fellow capitalists has made some elements in the country wary of the concept as they fear that the said concept may be exploited by the monopolists to make inroads into the public sector and ultimately overtake it, as expansion of the State sector is in ideological opposition to monopoly capitalism. They take the joint sector as camouflaged corporate sector. To the extent this assumption is correct, care should be taken to identify the areas of joint sector not conflicting with those of public sector and to work out a concrete policy for regulating its activity so that the dualism which is inherent in its control is made to serve the accepted national objectives but not the interests of private corporate sector. If the joint sector becomes a substitute for the public sector, it will be a regressive and perilous step.

If properly designed and managed, the joint sector is likely to become a fair solution. Unlike in a mixed economy where private and Government ownership exist side by side, joint sector can pave the way for an integrated economy where private sector and Government can be partners of the same enterprise. The mutual mistrust and class conflict between the Government and private enterprise on the one hand and between employers and employees on the other hand had not been flattering to

the healthy growth of industries in India. If this mistrust has to end and the two warring groups have to join hands with a sense of involvement in the progress of the nation, the joint sector is a good solution. Nevertheless, it can not be a universal solution. It may be effective in some cases but not necessarily so in respect of others. Joint sector schemes should be put through in select promising lines to begin with. Once its success is assured, there can be little difficulty in widening the area of its operation. This is particularly necessary to create confidence at the nascent stage in the investing public who are supposed to provide 49 to 60 per cent of equity capital.

In so far as selection of private partner is concerned, care should be taken to see that only the entrepreneurs who have the requisite experience in organising a new industry enter the enterprise. In such units, it should be the endeavour of the public financial institutions to create conditions conducive to the growth of entrepreneurship and expansion of the entrepreneurial base. The joint sector concept should not confine itself to production units. Inclusion of distribution units in this sector is as important as the production units. Infact in certain industries, control over distribution may yield greater social good than a mere control over production. The merits of the proposition of the Dutt Committee that past loans of the Government should also be converted into equity should be well thought of. Thus it is clear that survival or otherwise of the joint sector concept must rest on the prudence the Government exercises in designing its structure and evolving the policies for its successful operation.

## INDUSTRIALISATION THROUGH INDUSTRIAL ESTATES

### Achievements & Pitfalls

H. C. SAINY

When production is managed at a large scale, economies of large scale operation come and the overall cost of production is curtailed substantially. Moreover, when economic operations on a large scale are started by an individual entrepreneur, he has to face a number of problems relating to procurement of capital, collection of required raw materials and inputs from different sources, training of skilled workers, import of technical know-how, launching of productivity campaign, selection of suitable site, meeting the procedural requirements based on governmental legislation, provision of contingent requirements relating to transport, power, lighting, servicing, fabrication and above all the marketing of goods on a most competitive price. Decision making in the day-to-day business operations and quick adoption of recent improvements in the field of different technological innovations play a vital role in putting an industrial concern on a sound footing. These are considered to be very delicate affairs. Hence the novel idea of "industrial parks", "Organised industrial districts", "industrial tract" (known in the United Kingdom) or "industrial estate" was started as a new experiment all over the world. It was only in the mid-50s that the Government of India during the Second Plan, gave impetus to this marvellous theme and put it into action, all over the country. The main aim behind this technique was to implement the policies of decentralisation of industrial units especially in semi-urban and rural areas and thus to

achieve the goal of dispersal of industrialisation programmes. At that time the industrial units were concentrated mostly in the congested urban centres on account of which a number of uneconomic units were functioning below their capacity on unproductive lines. Moreover, most of these units were ill-managed due to shortage of essential facilities, raw materials and needed infra-structure of development. As such the units were not in a position to get benefits from the several incentive schemes. Training facilities were also most inadequate hence the idea of formation of industrial estates either on the basis of Governmental organisation, or establishment of joint stock companies, or on co-operative line was welcomed appreciably by the industrial circles. An industrial estate may be termed as an upto-date unit which on retail basis provides ready-made sheds/workshops along with a host of requisite facilities e. g. electricity, water supply, raw materials (necessary for all types of industrial activities), banking services, advisory facilities, and transport arrangements etc., to a group of small industrial concerns. These centres provide the facilities on hire-purchase basis. At some of the centres technical assistance is provided in collaboration with the National Small Industries Corporation and also with the help of such institutions or agencies which are engaged in providing stimulus to small scale units. The schemes relating to the establishment of industrial estates are being run by the different State Governments. After the 2nd

Five Year Plan, this thought provoking scheme has also been entrusted to the State Industrial Development Corporations. In some parts of the country several co-operative societies have been formed to undertake and manage the affairs of industrial estates.

Public Sector undertakings are also being given due stimulus to start such industrial estates which could be developed in the fields of small ancillary units having a bearing with these undertakings. This will enable such small units to procure the needed infra-structure of development, i. e., electric-power, transport and communications facilities and water supply and also to obtain their requirements of raw materials from the public undertakings. This policy is to be continued on a large scale basis in the urban and semi-urban areas during the Fourth Five Year Plan. Such estates are termed as "Captive or satellite estates" established mainly in the neighbourhood of large units.

By the end of the Second Five Year Plan 66 industrial estates could be established all over the country. It was only in the Third Plan that the drive launched earlier, achieved tremendous success; and by the end of 1969 there were 346 industrial estates all over the country. Till this time about 8679 sheds were constructed and out of this 6,600 were occupied by the different industrial units. It was, however, estimated that these units brought forth an annual production of Rs. 99.50 crores together with providing gainful employment to over 83,000 persons. Thus the industrial estates had been instrumental in overcoming the several problems, faced by the small-scale units in the country. These units, if managed on the above lines do not face the hurdles that occur on account of the shortcomings arising due to scale of operation. Such facilities (e. g. infra-structure of development) which can not be utilised by the small

units, on account of their size being quite small, are in a systematic and planned way made available and pooled at one suitable place for the small units. In addition to these the expert business advice and capital resources and all such "structural workshop facilities" are made available to such units. This provides them healthy avenues of development on a sound line. It is rather quite interesting to note that for utilising a host of facilities, a group of industrial units housed in an industrial estate have to pay a very nominal amount of charges. Broadly speaking these estates "institutionalise all the requisite facilities to keep the wheels of progress mobile and thus bring forth excellent products."

#### Short-comings

Apart from several achievements gained in this field, these estates suffer from the following short-comings. Since several sheds have been built on unsuitable locations, they could not be occupied as yet. Many of the sheds constructed for this purpose are lying unoccupied on account of political or other reasons. These sheds were constructed without conducting any techno-economic survey and hence the entire investment has proved to be quite unproductive. In many states, the sheds alone could be constructed on account of shortage of funds, and no further action could be taken. Most of the industrial estates in the country do not have within their fold the requisite "machine areas" and hence several essential activities regarding fabrication and processing have to be performed with the help of external sources by paying exorbitant charges. In the absence of these facilities some large units could not be accommodated in the existing industrial estates. In addition to this, most of the estates do not possess easy transport facilities and adequate godown arrangements. They have also not developed suitable testing laboratories and hence the

quality control measures could not be taken up rigidly.

It is also pointed out that in several States the programmes of industrial estates have not been co-ordinated with the State industrialisation programmes and hence the progress achieved is far from satisfactory. As has been discussed earlier the plots that have been occupied do not contain industrial potentialities or other necessary facilities for growth of a sound infra-structure.

#### Suggestive Measures :

If these hurdles are removed, the industrial estates will no doubt be quite helpful in meeting the challenge of unemployment and thus achieve commendable progress. The small scale units have made a remarkable and significant contribution and have definitely helped to achieve the several objectives of planned development on a rational basis. This novel experiment has the potentialities of further expansion of industrial estates. These industries if managed with the help of industries estates will ultimately prevent the concentration of wealth in the hands of a selected few and achieve the goals of equitable distribution of the national income. An environment which may be conducive to industrial growth has to be created in the existing industrial estates. This will undoubtedly help to attain the objectives of dispersal of industries and their further strengthening on sound economic lines. The existing small scale industrial units, which are quite ill-managed, should be brought under the fold of industrial estate programmes by suitably developing an ideal blend of small scale and large scale units so that the infra-structure facilities could be made available to them on easier and better terms. All the subsidiary policies of the banks relating to industrial development will remain under-developed if the basic infra-structural facilities are not made available to these units. Indige-

neous as well imported raw materials should be provided to these units on cheaper and reasonable rates. They should be put at par with the large scale units in supply of imported raw materials, so that they could maintain a competitive cost of production. The small units can not evolve scientific marketing techniques on account of their peculiar bargaining and financial capacities. The State Industries Corporation should provide maximum help in this direction. Most of the industrial estates could not function unhampered on account of absence of regular demand.

The industrial estates should be provided fillips in producing ancillary items and as a rigid policy measure these items should only be manufactured by such units, so that they could be developed into feeder units. Due technical, help in designing, processing, drawing should be extended to these units. The industrial estates should be given sufficient tax-concessions and should be provided with attractive incentives so that they could achieve tremendous progress in every field.

The Administrative Reforms Commission recommended that the new estates should be developed in the vicinity of new industrial township with "rudimentary infra-structure facilities so that they may themselves develop into the nucleus of an industrial township." The ARC further concluded that "industrial estates should be designed and managed in such a way that they may eventually develop into centres of focal points for providing common service and testing facilities, consultancy services, technological guidance etc. to the local entrepreneurs. Ultimately, they may function as the pioneers of new industries in the under-developed areas and as torch-bearers of new skills in the fields of modern and up-to-date industrial process."

Effective coordination at local levels

between the small-scale and large scale units should be obtained so that the economies of large scale production may occur and a favourable fillip is given to the scheme of wide dispersal of industries. The industrial estates should be developed as integral parts of the State plans of industrialisation, where an equal opportunity should be given to small scale and large scale units to develop and maintain complementary relationship between the two. An industrial estate can be a major tool for industrial development including generation of employment, in case its planning is made to become an integral part of programmes of regional development. They should be established as a part of a planned wider "industrial area." Dr. Kalyani Bandhopadhyaya has rightly emphasised certain broad outlines on the basis of which the future policy of industrial estates should be evolved. These relate to economic principles of industrial location, building up of a transport infrastructure, upgrading the size of units to medium

and large scale industries, shifting the emphasis from heterogenous to functional estates to generate skill formation, establishing subsidised co-operative industrial estates all over the country, (especially in semi urban and rural areas) and keeping the initial expenditure low by establishing only a few worksheds (due to lack of entrepreneurs and skilled labour) in rural locations. Instead of providing sheds to entrepreneurs on rent the principle of hire purchase should be practised. These units should be provided with special credit facilities and should be extended due priority in supply of raw materials and training of workers.\* The progress achieved is satisfactory and these units would have a clean bill of health for future expansion provided the hurdles discussed above are removed by the industrialists and the Governmental agencies at large.

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\* Dr. Kalyani Bandhopadhyaya :  
Industrialisation through Industrial Estates :  
A Pattern of Economic Decentralisation.



## PRESSURE GROUPS IN INDIA

B. M. CHATLANGI

Pressure or interest groups have also become a part of democracy these days. They are formed by social forces as are political parties. In developed democracies the pressure groups are increasing day by day. The development of pressure groups is generally regarded as a vital element in the process of political modernisation, in so far as it represents a response to increasing functional differentiation and to the break down of traditional type of authority. Pressure groups also are to be found in India, although perhaps to a lesser degree and in different forms from these in Western States.

Pressure groups can be defined as a formal organisation of people who share one or more common aims or concerns and who are trying to influence the course of events, in particular the formation and administration of public policy by government, so as to protect and promote their interests. It differs from political parties. While political parties are large agencies, the pressure groups are small. Political parties' main object is to control government but pressure groups want to influence government action in their favour. Political parties contested elections but pressure groups influence by other methods as lobbying, propaganda work etc.

In India, the everwidening activities of government have stimulated the creation and consolidation of groups. The Congress party was itself originally such a group, making a whole number of specific demands on the British raj, such as in the increase in the number of Indians recruited to the administrative services. When it evolved into a national independence movement it sought not only to accommodate as many political philosophies as

possible ; but as many organised groups as could be persuaded to give it their support. Moreover, as is the way with such movements, it fathered its own secondary organisations. Since independence the opposition parties have also formed such organisations and the parties themselves; during the period when opportunities for exercise of governmental responsibilities were usually denied to them, were driven into politics of pressure.

Four main types of pressure groups may be distinguished in the Indian setting.

**Firstly** : Special interest organisations of recent origin representing modern bases of social and economic association similar to the western type such as trade unions and business groups, social welfare agencies, or youth and women's organisations. These spring from the modern centres of society. Business interests show a much stronger tendency to form modern type industrial associations, communal associations, regional associations and all India organisations. In Calcutta, community ties involving business representation, Muslims belonging to the Oriental Chamber of Commerce, Hindu Bengalees of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce and Marwaris (a trading caste originating in Rajasthan) of the Bharat Chamber of Commerce. There are also an Indian Chamber of Commerce which has a mixed but largely Marwari membership. The largest business organisation is the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries, which represents forty thousand firms and has a very effective central office at New Delhi. The kinds of pressures exerted by the business

interests are extremely varied. The associations take part in joint consultative bodies and occasionally lobby M. Ps ; but a greater effort is devoted to bringing influence to bear on the planning commission, the economic ministers and the various licensing bodies. From them the business men seek the maximum government aid and protection and the minimum government interference. In some respects they are in a strong position, since they can both withhold information essential to the public authorities and refuse to co-operate in the implementation of the plans. They also have considerable influence in the Congress party at various levels, which has been heavily dependent on business contributions to its funds ; but some of the business-communities particularly in the Western areas are now going to support the Swatantra party.

Industrial workers are also well organised groups. But many of them are still peasants in their mentality and behaviour and consequently heavily dependent upon outside leadership. First trade union was formed before World War I. Under influence of the Congress party the All India Trade Union Congress was established in 1920 but by 1929 it had fallen under communist control. In 1948 the Congress formed a new organisation, The Indian National Trade Union Congress, but its reluctance to take strike action as a consequence of the presence of business men in the Congress tended to limit its attractiveness. When the Socialist party defected from the Congress in 1948 it established another Trade Union centre. The non-communist Marxist parties have also organised a federation. In all cases however the unions themselves are only partially integrated in the Federation to which they belong, the leadership of which is all to clearly a political arm of one party or another. The most effective unions are those

based on local firms. Although poorly financed and under outside leadership, they can be extremely vocal in their demands and militant in their method.

Student organisations also are counted as pressure groups. They are the Student Congress and the communist dominated Student Federation. They take up both University and wider issues, but have little control over the behaviour of their members and supporters, who have succeeded in utterly disorganising a considerable number of Indian Universities.

Secondly, those organizations representing traditional social relationships, such as caste and religious groups, have provided a far more fertile field for pressure group activities. Traditionally caste associations were primarily concerned with the behaviour of their own members and with the preservation of distinctive caste practices. They are predominantly local, non-political and often hardly visible. But caste is a highly adaptive structure, and modern multi-functional, and, often statewide caste associations have emerged in response to social, political and economic change. Their membership is purely voluntary and their leadership sometimes elective. Many of to-day's powerful caste associations originated in the desire for upward social mobility on the part of economically prospering castes with a low ritual status. Their activities were greatly stimulated, during the British Raj by registration of caste status in census documents. To-day, although still very much concerned with ritual status, they tend to concentrate on achieving more material benefits for their members, e. g. places in the civil service and in educational institutions. They also provide a variety of service and welfare functions and some have even transformed themselves into joint stock companies owing plantations, mills, banks, schools, hospitals, hotels and newspapers. Examples of this type of pressure

groups is Nadar Caste Association. The power of caste associations, however is being frequently undermined by economic differentiation among its members, which inhibits it from adopting a consistent political policy. The Nadar caste association, for instance, which advised its members to vote Congress in early 1950, made no attempt to influence their votes in subsequent general elections.

Tribal peoples, who number sixty million, have also become susceptible to pressure group organisation ; but they are far more likely to form separate political parties or, as in the case the tribal peoples of Assam and Nagaland secessionist groups.

Linguistic groups are sometime very well organised and have also taken a very prominent part in Indian political life ; but such groups are comparatively ephemeral, tending to subside into inactivity once their specific demands have been satisfied, whether through the creation of a linguistic state or otherwise.

In the third category we can put anti-constitution organisation such as R. S. S., Shivsena, Muslims manjish and Naxalites. Hinduism despite its diversity and lack of internal organisation has produced one of the

most powerful, and some say sinister, pressure groups of all, the Rastriya Swayamsevak Sangh ( RSS ), which boasts a membership of one million. Same type of organisation is the muslim manjish also. Naxalite episodes are, of course—examples of revolutionary rather than of pressure group activities. And the last type of organisations representing the Gandhian idea—logical heritage,—such as the Sarva Seva Sangh, the main agency of the Sarvodaya movement, whose outstanding activity is the Bhoodanyagna movement. These groups are organized by the two great Gurus, Vinoba Bhave and J. P. Narayan. Gandhi himself provided the elements of a pressure groups theory when he said : 'Banish the idea of the capture of power and you will be able to guide power and keep it on the right path' and it is obvious that the community development scheme and Panchayati Raj were inspired by notions of decentralisation most prevalent among the Gandhian groups.

The growth of the pressure groups is very partial in India. What is clear, however is that the Indian political system has not yet developed to a point where groups are prepared to recognise any rules of the game.



## STATUS IN THE TEACHING PROFESSION

### I. SATYA SUNDARAM

One of the lackadaisical traits of modern education is the deplorably low status enjoyed by the Teachers at all levels. Though every one—including the Government—knows that it is the teachers who can make or mar education, very little has been done to raise their status academically, economically and socially. Education will continue to be in the doldrums so long as the vast army of teachers remain disgruntled and frustrated. In the days of yore, the teacher was the friend, philosopher and guide to his students. Society itself had accorded him a unique place. Nowadays things have changed—changed for the worse. Hardly a person at present willingly enters the teaching profession with a genuine zeal to shape the destinies of thousands of students. It is again impossible to attribute this sorry state of affairs to any single factor.

A major problem facing the educational world of today is, how to get dedicated teachers. It is increasingly realised that the problem of buildings, equipment, legislation, administration and finance are not of such fundamental importance as the world wide dearth of well-qualified teachers, professionally and academically. The quality, competence and character of teachers undoubtedly influence the entire educational system, including the students—the votaries of knowledge. The paucity of competent teachers is now more keenly felt than ever before because of an unprecedented expansion of education at all levels. The 'educational explosion' that is taking place at present, though very welcome, has created a number of hydra-headed problems. There is however a wrong notion that any one can teach. Many believe wrongly

that teaching demands no special knowledge or skill. Perhaps the expression 'square pegs in round holes' today applies appropriately to both students and teachers. How to attract a significant proportion of the talented men and women in schools and colleges to the teaching profession is the greatest challenge facing modern education.

It should however be remembered that both the teachers and government have to make ceaseless efforts to raise the economic, social and professional status of the teaching community. The teacher should acquaint himself with both academic discipline and real scholarship. Nowadays unfortunately philistines are entering the teaching profession and as such education has become more a business than a mission with a social purpose. In these days of mass education, the teachers should be prepared to assume not only the additional responsibilities in teaching and guidance, but also the innumerable problems arising in dealing with the adolescents. Student turbulence is the order of the day. Hardly a day passes without turmoil, squabbles and gheraos in one college or other. Educational institutions remain closed for months together. The students are the worst sufferers, but teachers are helpless. Mounting indiscipline in educational institutions is partly due to overcrowded classes. The teachers are unable to control a class of 80 to 100 students, who differ vastly in their intelligence and family background. The net result of all these is that there is a continuous deterioration in the teacher-pupil relationship. There is little scope to educate the child in accordance with his age, aptitude and ability. How

can education function well in an unacademic atmosphere ?

No wonder, the world of teachers has become a world of indifference. They hardly possess technical efficiency, knowledge of the methods used in teaching and skills in applying them. The teachers of today hardly study the educational problems, let alone other problems. The necessary reforms in education should be brought about by the educationists themselves so that it can be tailored to meet the needs of the day.

The teacher must possess that indefinable, but recognisable combination of characteristics known as "personality" which really influences the attitudes and behaviour of the students ; apart from enriching his own teaching ability. The teacher must possess faith, enthusiasm, the power to encourage and stimulate. He should realise that his work is a profession, a vocation and a priesthood. Teaching is a profession with special distinction and everyone is not fitted for it. The present deplorable condition of the teaching profession reminds one the saying of Oscar Wilde, "Everybody who is incapable of learning has taken to teaching."

We cannot raise the teacher's status until and unless we ameliorate his material condition. In almost every country in the world today teachers are under-paid, undertrained and in short supply. This is so because Governments and peoples do not show any regard to education. Teaching is no longer a lucrative job. This is perhaps the main reason why the best "students" do not take up the teaching profession when they finish their courses. Materialism still dominates our society. Salary and status go together. No wonder, a teacher with a low salary is looked down upon by society. It is strange to know how an elementary school teacher is paid less than a peon in the L. I. C. Office !

We talk very highly of the teaching profession but do very little to improve it. Nowadays, it is the organised pressure groups that are able to fulfil their demands. Teachers are not well organised and their genuine grievances go unnoticed by the government and the public. It may be that adequate remuneration and reasonable conditions of service by themselves do not bring about higher status, but by making it possible for teachers to lead a fuller life economically and socially, they automatically affect their position. Money is essential not only to keep the wolf away from the door, but also to develop one's potentialities. Even the best system of education is bound to fail, if the teachers do not put their best in their profession ; and they are not likely to do so unless they are well-paid and well-treated.

Teachers should aim at maintaining high professional standards. It is a matter of great regret that in some countries, teacher's training is almost non-existent. There is no denying the fact that professional standards have fallen to a low ebb in recent years. Ruskin maintained that professions were held in high esteem when members were capable of self-sacrifice ; when they served ends other than self interest. Apart from increasing the material conditions of the teachers, efforts should also be made to step up library and other facilities to help raise professional status and standards. There should be adequate opportunities for those teachers who possess very high professional qualifications. For instance, there is no point in keeping a Ph. D. holder in an affiliated college, for he is more useful at the University.

Teachers should also enjoy considerable amount of freedom. Most people do not welcome freedom, they fear it. Some teachers have been given freedom to teach what they think best, in the way that seems best to them, but they have refused to accept the responsibi-

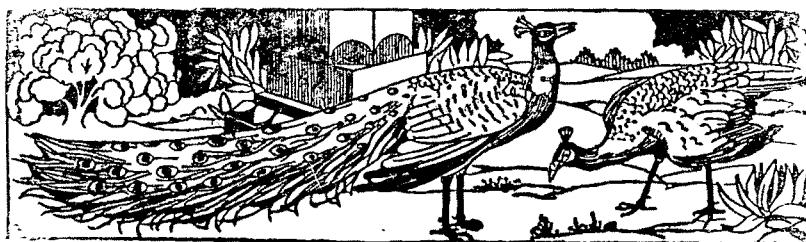
lity of making decisions. The pedagogues have ceased to be the demagogues in their own field ! Outsiders tell them what books to buy, what syllabus to follow, what to teach and how to teach it, but teachers are always indifferent to all these ! If the teachers are to be free, they must accept the responsibility that goes with it. Knowledge, understanding, courage, responsibility and integrity will certainly give greater freedom and status.

Teachers of today do not appear like a "we group". Unity among them is conspicuous by its absence. It looks as if the teaching profession is a divided profession. Lecturers in colleges have little contact with the teachers in higher secondary schools, and the latter have little contact with teachers in high schools. And the elementary school teachers live in their own world ! If the teaching profession is a house divided against itself, how can teachers redress their genuine grievances ?

What is obnoxious is the recent tendency to engage teachers in non-educational work which greatly reduces their status. It is futile to aim at betterment of academic standards with teachers who remain a discontented and frustrated lot. They are not to be blamed solely for this sad state of affairs, for what they demand is not a mere increase

in their emoluments but freedom to attend to their academic work without interruptions from outside forces. The elementary school teachers must be relieved of the responsibility of implementing the midday meals scheme and a lot of non-educational work. What is deplorable is the fact that teachers in schools are often compelled to collect funds from the public. The recent addition to their non-educational assignments is the sale of raffle tickets. No wonder the teachers are made to live in an unacademic atmosphere in which there is little scope for personality development.

In a book written a few years ago in England, J. W. Robertson Scott declared, "In hamlets I know best, the standard-bearers of progress, civilization, evolution, well-being, the high-life, better living, true religion—call it what you like.....have been, without doubt, teachers at the schools." The teachers should know that teaching is something more than a profession.....it is a mission primarily meant for the younger generation. There is, said Matthew Arnold, something grand in being occupied on a purpose which you recognise as being great. He was talking about the teaching profession.



## REGIONAL ASPECTS IN STATE PLANNING

B. L- DHAKAR

Backwardness by itself is no de-merit, it is often there because of external factors, and not because of inherent incapacity for growth. The Minister for Planning pointed out the other day that the State governments had neglected some of the priority programmes, mentioning the shortfalls in social infrastructure in particular. The performance of the State governments in many a field is certainly open to question. In the same way the record of the Central Ministries has not been bright. In state planning much depended on Centre-State relations, a brief analysis of which is attempted.

With the regional integration of States in 1956, a growing concern was felt by every State to resort to planning. States have had the legacies of regional backwardness and undevelopment. During the last 20 years, the politics of economic development confused the policy and weakened the regional integration of a State. Implications of the policy pursued have been reflected in the poor performance of economic activities particularly at the district level. Consequently a large section of the people in a State was deprived of even a respectable and reasonable living and that has given good scope for the study of the economic periphery in a State. Our Mine Minister remarked in the International Seminar on "Imperialism, Independence and Social Transformation in the Contemporary world" that all people shared the life and aspirations of the country, only a microscopic minority sought the right of self determination. If we shift this political philosophy to the economic field, it means that a few pockets of the country and a few persons in our society enjoy the affluence.

This gives a challenge to the regional development and State planning. M. G. Kutty defines regional planning as an indication "in broad quantitative and qualitative terms of an outline for the spatial and temporal organisation, population and socio-economic activity" consistent with "regional objectives of harmonious physical growth, optimum use and development of resources, and of planned urbanisation with due regard to the objectives of the national plans !

Historically, regional development began to receive attention in the western countries in the 1930s on welfare considerations. The need then felt was :

- i) Mass unemployment and distress in the depressed regions in U. K. and U. S. A. The South of Italy was by-passed in the course of economic development ;
- ii) Development of natural resources, later on added urban growth and industrial location ;
- iii) To relieve distress or poverty in depressed or backward regions.
- iv) Metropolitan regions.

Significant advance has been made since then. But constraints of regional development do come in the way of rapid growth. A solution to the problem is compromise and regional-balanced development in gradual course. This approach can equally apply to state planning in India.

### State Disparities

Regional imbalances are the corollary of regional disparities in natural resource endowments, climatic conditions and several other factors. When the disparities grow wide, they

lead to explosive situations. Moreover, they have the cumulative impact on early start of industrial development and its further momentum. In succession, induced investment grows spontaneously and many projects spring up. Maharashtra and Andhra were shaken up by the regional feelings of Marathwada, Vidarbha, and Telengana respectively. All this is the natural outcome of the growth theory.

In the present context of Indian policy, that is an outdated approach. Since industrial growth alone cannot lead to the desired objectives of social justice. A strategy for achieving a balanced development ensures social justice and encourages creative young talents of the country. A dual economy should be developed as early as possible.

Even then we can not shut our eyes to explore the glaring disparities between States of India on certain fronts. These indicators categorise States of India as developed and backward; as such all States are not equally developed and regional imbalances do appear. The problem of imbalance is highly complex and differences in development arise out of various factors in economic activities.

Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa are classified as industrially backward areas qualifying for special treatment by way of incentives and assistance inspite of large Central investments. The group included for the special treatment are Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Jammu and Kashmir and Nagaland. West Bengal joined this group by virtue of special considerations of border trouble and political conflicts.

#### Empirical Analysis

It is obvious that some of the States are growing fast while others are lagging behind. A race in the field of State development through State planning is noticed. The policy programmes and their execution speak in

degrees of the successes of respective States in various directions. There may be many inherent drawbacks of one type or another but they can be also compensated by other potentialities inherited by the States. A vicious circle of poverty perpetuates and semi-stagnancy is not broken, the outcome is apparent that a particular state possesses all symptoms of backwardness. Let us examine the issue of State disparities by certain indicators.

#### Income per Capita :

As given in table No. 1, Punjab Rs. 576 (highest) heads the list followed by Maharashtra, Gujarat and Tamilnadu at the top level, whereas Bihar Rs. 272 (lowest), U. P. Orissa, Madhya Pradesh stand at the lowest. It shows that the States which developed certain growth points, cluster industries around them. External economies supported the growth of such centres. Once the economy gets its momentum it feeds on its past efforts. Income increasing processes multiply and accelerate economic growth. The development of the infrastructure induces further investments.

#### Urban population :

It is highest in Madras 28.33% followed by Tamilnadu 26.69% and Gujarat 25.77% at the upper level. The pull and push factors attract rural population towards urban centres.

#### Literacy :

The so-called developed States have a greater percentage of literate population. In Tamilnadu, literacy percentage is 36.4%, Gujarat 36.2% Maharashtra 35.1% and so on; at the other end is Rajasthan 18%, M. P. 20.5% U.P. 20.7%. Kerala is an exception, 55.1%. Literacy and income per capita are in direct relation to one another, higher the literacy, higher is the income per

capita. Urbanisation trend also falls in the same line.

**Growth :**

It is directly related with the investment per capita in a State: In this field, Punjab invests Rs. 258, Gujarat 244, Maharashtra 10; on the other side, U. P. 126, M. P. 183. Actually growth rate goes up on a cumulative basis. Income increasing and income absorbing processes are very active in developed States.

The above indicators explain the facts that areas/regions/states which had picked up economic progress in the past, supersede the lagging counterparts, with the result that regional imbalances are perpetuated. The problem before us is how to speed up the progress of the lagging partners. Polarisation of income differentials on long term basis invites economic tensions of far-reaching nature which ultimately end into economic upheavals :

TABLE—I  
LEVELS OF DEVELOPMENT AND RATES OF GROWTH

States	Per capita income in Rs. at current prices 1964-65	% of urban population	Literacy	Investment
				under 3 plans State
Maharashtra	524	28.22	35.1	210
Tamilnadu	416	26.69	36.4	165
Gujarat	429	25.77	36.2	224
W. Bengal	381	24.45	34.5	112
Punjab	576	20.13	28.8	288
Kerala	370	15.11	55.1	287
Mysore	352	22.33	29.8	211
Andhra Pradesh	406	17.44	28.6	172
Assam	394	76.69	24.6	177
Rajasthan	400	16.28	18.1	217
M. P.	387	14.29	20.5	183
U. P.	288	12.85	20.7	126
Orissa	304	6.32	25.2	189
Bihar	272	8.43	21.8	136
INDIA	422	17.97	28.3	180

Source : V. Nath : Regional Development in Indian Planning Economic & Political Weekly, Vol. V, No. 3, 4 and 5, Annual Number, January, 1970, p. 247.

### Regional Planning :

The concept of regional economic cooperation is no longer a distant dream and although it is far from being realised, the foundations are in the process of being laid. Much more remains to be done in the development of better communications, common institutions, commodity agreements, regional preferences and plan harmonization.<sup>2</sup> There is no reason to oppose the concept of regional integration at intra and inter State level. The application of this concept is the handmaid of political intricacies.

Awareness of regional development problems has existed among the planners since the beginning of planning. A reference for reducing disparities was made in the very First Plan document. Successive Five Year Plans have indicated the dispersal of industries and other economic activities away from large cities. The Third Five Year Plan contained a chapter on balanced regional development. In the Fourth Five Year Plan, there is reference also to development of backward areas under State plans and a provision of Rs. 50 crores has been earmarked in the State Plan outlays for the purpose.

The regional development plan was prepared by the Town and Country Planning Organisation and emphasised on five zones in the Third Plan ; the zones<sup>3</sup> are :

- The Damodar Valley
- The Dandakaranya Project
- The Rehand Region.
- The Rajasthan Canal Area
- The Bhakra-Nangal Region.

Recently, the Planning Commission's indiscipline had held up detailed studies of a Rs. 8300 crores—12 year regional development plan for the South-East Resource Region, comprising 26 districts of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh. This region produces 75% of the country's

mineral output in value, is endowed with 90% of the coal reserves and 80% of the iron ore, it has 89% of the nation's manganese deposits, not to speak of the substantial quantities of other mineral deposits, including 60% of the atomic elements. Its hydel power potential is estimated to yield 4217 megawatts of power, besides an unlimited scope for the development of thermal power.<sup>4</sup> The waters of the Krishna and the Narbada are to be tapped in regional cooperation. The linkages among adjoining states are the basic foundations of regional objectives. The regional cooperation is to be integrated from inter-State level to a district level. Isolation is a retarding factor to State planning on perspective considerations.

Preparation of State plans at the national level is a very important planning process ; a total expenditure on the State Plans formed about half of total public sector expenditure in the First Three Plans. But the importance of State level planning has also had the effect of equating regional planning with it. Any way it can be deduced that policies for regional development and preparation of development plans for regions with special problems or promise, that is, backward regions, metropolitan regions, river valleys or other resources development regions, have not received the attention that they deserve in a big country like India.

Regional Planning has to be more concerned with the dynamics of economic growth, and the spatial dispersal of such growth over the region. Particularly, in the Indian situation where purposive national economic planning permeates almost every sector of economic activity. Regional planning is therefore not only a matter of balances of growth of urban settlement in physical or geographical sense over the regions ; it is also equally, if not more, concerned with what may be called the broad spatial and temporal dis-

tribution of economic activities of all kinds over geographical regions. This points to the need for a very close and intimate interdisciplinary activity of the geographers, economists, resource specialists, engineers, sociologists and a number of other such disciplines in the service of regional planning.<sup>5</sup>

Dualism in regional approach—physical and human—is basic. Regionalism reveals not only regional consciousness but also a framework for collecting information about areas and a body of administration.<sup>6</sup> In the U. K. the framework of regional planning constitutes the following objectives.<sup>7</sup>

- (1) To make full use of economic resources of all regions in the country and thereby to raise the level of economic growth.
- (2) Public investment centres round 'growth points' which become self-sustaining.
- (3) Regional Planning councils and Planning Boards are instituted.
- (4) Proper implementation.

#### Frame supplements

- (5) Modern Industrial structure
- (6) Mobility of populations.

Centrally planned economics (Soviet Russia and Yugoslavia) add.

- (7) Establishment of 'Scvnar-Khozy' (regional economic council).
- (8) Regional decentralization of planning and administration.

#### Regional Aspects :

There are very many aspects which form the part of regional development of area (region) state. A short analysis of each helps in understanding the regional issues of a state or states.

#### Investment Pattern :

The Planning Commission has laid emphasis on expansion of social services and infrastructure facilities, agricultural improvement,

development of irrigation etc. in the backward areas, in order to reduce their handicap for development. Expenditure on these activities is included primarily under State plans, central investment has been mainly in large projects in industry, transport, communication etc.

#### Industry :

The following factors which influence the location of a productive economic establishment are :

1. Transport cost.
2. The availability of land, labour and capital.
3. The supply of raw materials.
4. The adequate source of power.
5. Proximity and the size of the market.
6. The supply of components.
7. Use of by-products.
8. The ethos of an area.
9. Government policy.

A 'Pull policy'—infrastructure and multiplier effect.

A 'Push policy'—Higher cost, financial incentives, a large leakage, under-utilised areas.

As for example, in Gujarat, growth with social justice is the guide line of the industrial policy. Balanced development of regions with particular stress on backward areas is one of the major objectives of the policy. The Government provides various concessions for rapid industrial development of the State.

Industrial centres have mostly grown round the metropolitan centres and key cities. In this regard, the Pande Committee Study Group suggested dispersal of industries to a few selected backward districts in a backward state. The Wanchoo Study Group suggested the provision of fiscal and financial incentives to be given to industries in backward areas. In the last budget, price incentives were given in backward areas, but the result has been very

discouraging for want of infrastructure in such areas. This is the first need.

West Bengal lagged behind in the consumer industries sector, whereas there is potential market and ample scope for new investment. Punjab is the most flourishing state because of the development of small scale industries.

#### Infrastructure :

**Transport :** Roads and railways can help to create a new wealth of industry in a region. They invite a mild industrial revolution. A crash programme of rural road construction is badly needed. Road development work in Haryana is progressing fast since the Fourth Plan was launched. And the Haryana Government decided to connect every village with a metalled road by 1975, whereas the national projection is within 6 miles of every village by 1931. In the words of Mr. C. Subramaniam, Planning Minister, to cut down the time lag between provision of funds and execution of projects, an integrated and regional approach to road transport development is relevant. Transport bottlenecks are a serious constraint on the economic life in the region. It applies with greater force to a backward state planning.

**Credit Planning :** The Nationalised Banks are accorded the pride of place today. It is to be ensured in credit allocation that backward regions should be put on priority basis. And measures should be taken to check the outflow of funds from backward areas by adopting a crash programme of branch expansion in the rural areas. Other credit institutions should efficiently manage to cater to the credit needs of the region. This is the main responsibility of the Lead Bank Scheme. Regional credit—deposit ratio is an important tool and that should be boosted up in backward areas of a State.<sup>8</sup> Credit planning can be coordinated with other areas of development and has to be closely integrated with the special institutions.

**Employment :** The migration of people from villages to towns in search of employment has accelerated the growth of urban population. Whereas adequate facilities and services for the increase of urban population are not available. The industrial employment strategy will be implemented through the village and small scale industrial sector. In the past, main emphasis centred round the large scale sector, which resulted in the displacement of the small scale sector. Shortages and surpluses of staff arise due to lack of proper manpower planning.

Crash programmes of rural development works should be launched vigorously to solve this malady of growing unemployment involving more than 20 million persons. Special attention is being paid to the schemes of self-employed engineers and technicians. Modernisation of agriculture reserves the potentialities of absorbing surplus labour to a certain extent as envisaged in Gujarat planning.

It is understood that the States which registered a high employment rate also witnessed a high rate of unemployment. The incidence of unemployment is highest in West Bengal 2.62% and lowest in Rajasthan 0.34% with regard to urban unemployment. The development of social infrastructure is much needed to minimise migration trend from rural to urban centres.

#### Urbanisation :

During the period 1963-69, interim development plans for 40 cities were completed. They provided necessary guidelines to check and correct the evils of growing urbanisation. According to present projections, the urban population is expected to increase from 79 million in 1961 to nearly 152 million in 1981. The number of towns with a population of 50000 and above is likely to increase from 250 in 1961 to 536 in 1981. Regional studies and planning have to be related to this prospect.

The situation in regard to growth of population in metropolitan centres, particularly of Calcutta and Bombay is already so difficult as to make it almost a law and order problem. There it needs decongestion or dispersal of population. But how? It is a challenge to regional aspects of State planning aligned with the national planning. The social and economic costs of servicing large concentrations of population are prohibitive. The question of purposive deployment of population over space though at the disposal of the people and the government assumes a note of dire urgency.<sup>9</sup>

#### Administration :

Centre-periphery integration includes maximisation of economic welfare for the people as a whole. Economic linkage between States and the Nations needs to be adopted in regional aspects and it achieves the balance of power between all concerned bodies. Two bodies as in the U. K. are to be set up at the State level.

1. Regional Economic Planning Council
2. Regional Planning Board.

A District Regional Planning Committee should function to formulate a district plan. It is proposed that a single ministry of Regional Economic Planning may be projected at any suitable date. Economic progress in 1950s and early 1960s was more rapid in the developed states than in less developed ones. According to Friedmann and Alonso, the regional development issue is particularly important in the early stages of economic development when the tendency for concentration of development in the core areas is strong and when political pressures exerted by the peripheral regions for diversion of development to them create tensions. The issue becomes less important in matured economies, because the 'spread effects' from the core regions are strong, regional differences in location costs and welfare get reduced and the dominant spatial interactions are between

system of cities.<sup>10</sup> Myrdal also supports that the spread effects are stronger than the 'back wash effects' in mature economics, and regional disparities in development tend to be reduced in them. He is the exponent of a free market policy in regional economics.

#### Conclusions :

1. Intensive survey of a State is a pre-requisite.
2. A re-orientation of investment pattern is much desired.
3. Social infrastructure should be expanded.
4. Urbanisation trend needs to be checked.
5. District Planning should be encouraged.
6. Linkage model between Centre, State, Region area is to be adopted.
7. Effective regional administrative bodies should be formed.
8. Decentralisation trend is to be preferred.
2. Delay defeats the purpose of regional balanced development.

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# Current Affairs

## Other Solar Systems in the Universe

Space exploration is carried out with the hope that something will be discovered in some other planet or satellite that will be useful to the humans of the Earth. Objects like valuable minerals, precious stones or, may be, forms of life. Some people think that other planets of our solar system or of similar solar systems belonging to other suns or stars, may have chemicals or living organisms like what we have in this world. American astronomers, particularly, have been looking into every far corner of the limitless space in order to find some evidence of the possibility of some sort of life in some other distant planet. "The American Reporter" published an account of an astronomical discovery by use of an 11-meter wide radio telescope at Kitt Peak in Arizona which focussed "on huge cloud formations in a galaxy called M.33. They proved to be clouds of carbon monoxide." M. 33 is similar to the Milky Way, of which our solar system is a minute part, in many ways.

"The presence of carbon monoxide suggests that M. 33 galaxy is undergoing the same turbulent changes as the Milky Way. Scientists suspect that the carbon monoxide is debris left by the collisions of more complex chemicals like ammonia and formaldehyde."

"Astronomers have discovered ammonia and formaldehyde in abundance in the Milky Way galaxy. These two chemicals, thought to be the basic building blocks of life, once came together to form the earth's atmosphere and its oceans."

"This is the first time that carbon monoxide has been discovered beyond the Milky Way. M. 33 is located about 1.5 million light

years from the center of the Milky Way. One light year is the distance a ray of light travels in a year. The speed of light is 297600 kilometers in a second."

The scientists have found in this discovery evidence that at least another galaxy in the universe is like the Milky Way and also that there is carbon in many other galaxies. Carbon is the basic substance out of which living forms evolve. There is therefore nothing in these galaxies which prevents the development of life in them. With suitable physical conditions life similar to what we find on this earth could come into existence on other planets that are likely to be there in other galaxies.

## Stoppage of Electric Power Supply

The position of electric power supply is going from bad to worse. As a matter of fact power cuts are causing so much harassment and loss to the public that unless the government can arrange things properly and guarantee normal conditions of life to the people as far as power, gas and water supply are concerned, the public would be justified in demanding their removal from power. It will be quite natural for the public to say that if a government cannot even organise such ordinary matters as electric supply in a proper manner they cannot be considered to be dependable and effective and should therefore resign so that persons who can guarantee results could replace them. Power cuts have become too frequent now a days. Sometimes power supply is stopped three or four times in a single day and people do not get power for five or six hours which result not only in discomfort but in loss of hard to get food stuff which one keeps in refrigerators. Other

valuable and difficult to secure supplies of medicines are also spoilt due to sudden and unexpected suspension of power supply which makes the proper and effective running of refrigerators impossible. Air conditioners, water heaters, stereo equipment, lifts etc. cannot be worked and that makes life in the homes hotels, hospitals and institutions difficult to carry on. In the shops and factories machinery suddenly stop running and that causes great loss to the entrepreneurs. Work cannot be planned and carried out and business management becomes impossible. Water supply, which is obtained with difficulty, becomes more difficult to get by stoppage of pumps, without which water cannot be distributed effectively in the big cities. Many people use electrical appliances for ironing, cooking, toasting, washing, shaving etc. and they find the power cuts a great obstruction to their habitual way of living. There are hundreds of petrol distribution centres which sell petrol and diesel oil through electrically operated pumps. These pumps lose three fourths of their business during the periods of power cuts. Most shops and restaurants have to stop normal business when power cuts occur. In short the use of electricity is so closely woven into most things that people do now a days, that suspension of power supply has come to mean the suspension of almost all normal every day work in modern society. Steady maintenance of power supply is an essential part of modern life and all governments should make a note of that.

#### Bengalee Students Return to Assam

After prolonged discussions between representatives of the central government, the Assamese administrative officers and the Bengali students who had come away to West Bengal from the educational institutions of Assam where they had been studying and which they had left due to harassment and

persecution to which they had been subjected by the Assamese ; an agreement was eventually arrived at by which the Assamese officials guaranteed full protection and safety to the Bengalees who thereafter accepted the proposal of returning to their erstwhile places of education. When however they were settling the final details of their return to Assam, last minute disagreements cropped up and matters drifted towards the troubled waters of distrust and lack of understanding. Further talks between the central government men and the Assamese officials cleared the atmosphere and it was finally settled that the Bengalee students would go back to the institutions where they had been studying. It now only remained for these students to go back to Assam finally. We hope the Assamese will be able to keep their promises of guaranteeing safety and security to the Bengalee boys and girls. Much of course will depend on the attitude of the central government people whom the Assamese dare not alienate.

#### Propaganda Speeches by Ministers

Electioneering means the carrying on of intensive propaganda in favour of a person or a political party with a good mixture of adverse criticism of all those who oppose the group which engages in the election campaign. Lies and half-truths abound in electioneering pronouncements and nobody takes much notice of what truths are uttered for the reason that these pre-election speeches are assumed to be statements made by persons who are under no obligation to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Before election the candidates are not responsible to the legislature or to the people to adhere to any rules of conduct and they are free to say what they like in order to further their own interests. If however the candidate succeeds in being elected and becomes an M. P., M. L. A. or even a Minister, his responsibilities and moral

obligations close down on him from all sides. He cannot thereafter misguide the public by telling them anything that is not entirely true. It becomes his moral and constitutional obligation to the nation to guide them in the right path of thought and action by telling them only what is fully true and precisely correct. In other words, responsible members of the legislatures and the ministries cannot engage in propaganda work with the same abandon that they displayed at their pre-election rallies. Ministers and members of the legislatures have to maintain their attachment to truth and facts in a much more thorough and rigorous manner than political party tub thumpers who do propaganda work to achieve an objective which is seldom the propagation of the ethical precepts of human life.

The Prime Minister should be well advised to watch the Central as well as the States ministers when they make speeches in order to justify their own actions or to create an atmosphere in which the governments' policy can easily acquire public support and approbation. For although we have no Ombuds-men in India who can call ministers and members of legislatures to answer charges of acting

in a manner which is against the best interests of the nation ; the public are conscious enough of the duties of the public men who assume charge of the management of the nation's affairs. If the ministers make statements which are incorrect and misguide the public ; the reaction on the public mind comes sooner or later and the government, as a whole, begin to be discredited in the public eye. Conditions prevailing in the state managed industries are often painted in luminous colours by the government men, including ministers, and are later on found to be exaggerations. Such statements do no good to the reputation of the persons who make them and eventually react harmfully on the popularity of the government. Latterly there have been many "take overs" and the failure of the government to manage the smooth continuance of supplies of essential utilities like electricity, water, gas etc. has been more pronounced than ever before. As a result government people including ministers have taken to propaganda work in order to revive the dying faith of the public in the government. At times they over do things and their speeches do more harm than good to the governments' reputation.



## THE REPORT OF THE GOVERNOR'S COMMITTEE

N. S. GEHLOT

The Governors' Committee which was constituted in November, 1970, by the President of India<sup>1</sup> for studying and formulating the norms about the role of the Governors, submitted its report to the President of India in which it had given new interpretations of the constitutional provisions and defined the Governor's role in tackling the difficult problems of the States. The Committee consisted of the five Governors of the Indian States headed by Mr. Bhagawan Sahay, the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir.<sup>2</sup>

In a 73 page report, the Committee has supported the idea of entrusting the discretionary powers to the Governors of the States under Article 163 (1) of the Constitution. The Committee's report states that it is the right of the Governor to dismiss a Ministry under Article 174 (1) of the constitution in a situation when "the Chief Minister shirks his primary responsibility of facing the Legislative Assembly within the shortest possible time to test his majority." The Chief Minister's refusal, in such a situation, must be interpreted as "prima facie" proof that he no longer commands the majority support in the House. In that case, the Committee says, the Governor would instal a new Ministry if there is a party or the parties in a position to form an alternative Government. In case there is no possibility of forming an alternative Government, the Governor would only then recommend to the President of India under Article 356 for the Presidential Rule in the State and the dissolution of the State Assembly.

The Committee as such has left the clause "within the shortest possible time" in its vague form which may be misinterpreted by the

C. M. as well as the Governor. A Chief Minister with the malicious intention may consider a period of a month or so as the meaning of the clause for showing his strength in the Assembly and any Governor, like Shri Dharma Vira, the former Governor of West Bengal, may not agree with him to wait for that period and he may dismiss the Ministry on the ground that it was not ready to call sessions of the Assembly at his liking. If the Governor is given the power to decide the period, one Governor may feel one week too long and another a month too short. This individual opinion of the Governors would further function in accordance with the political motives in favour of one party which appoints the Governor. Thus the vagueness of the clause may create a tense situation in any State as it happened in West Bengal in November, 1967.<sup>3</sup>

It would, therefore, have been better if the Committee had either fixed the period as compulsory for a C. M. for summoning the session of the Assembly, or empowered the two-thirds majority of the House to request the Speaker to call a meeting of the Assembly within the period that the House has suggested.

Our Legislators still can add a new sub-clause to the Article 174 of the Constitution empowering the two-thirds majority of the House to call the session of the Assembly within the prescribed period.<sup>4</sup>

But it is expected that the Governor would dismiss the Ministry only when the Assembly has proved its nonconfidence vote against the Ministry in power and the latter is reluctant to resign.

✓ The Committee has also suggested that the

Governor should not allow a Minister or the C. M. to continue in office when he has been defeated in his constituency while seeking the mandate and still wants to remain in office. This situation arose with Mr. T. N. Singh, the former C. M. of the U. P. after his defeat in Maniram bye-election of January, 1971.<sup>5</sup>

The Committee has also studied the principles of the coalition Government. If a coalition breaks up and the C. M. demands the resignation of his colleagues with whom he has broken his coalition, the Committee feels, the C. M. has no right of advising the Governor in relation to appointment or dismissal of the Ministers in such a manner "as to break the arch and yet claim the right to continue as the C. M." (This situation came in the U. P. in October, 1970).<sup>6</sup>

It is so because the C. M. derives his pre-eminence solely from the political agreement through his partners. But this will not be applicable to the C. M. who is the head of a single party in the State Assembly.

In this context, the Committee has recommended that it is not necessary for the C. M. to resign when the Ministers belonging to his coalition have already resigned due to the disagreement. If his majority is threatened owing to the withdrawal, the committee feels, the C. M. must demonstrate his continuing strength by advising the Governor to summon the Assembly within the shortest possible time.

The Committee has also discussed the issue of the selection of the C. M. The Governor faces no difficulty when there is one party in majority having its leader in the Assembly. The issue of selection of the C. M. became critical in 1967 in Rajasthan after the General Elections. The former Governor, Dr. Sampurnanand did not call the leader of the United Front of the opposition parties to form the Government though he had a collec-

tive majority in the House. The Governor supported his plea of "single largest party" in the Legislature and invited Shri Sukhadia to form the Government of Rajasthan.<sup>7</sup>

The Governors' Committee has refuted the idea of "single largest party." In the view of the Committee, Governor has "no absolute right to claim" that only the leader of the largest single party should form the Government. The relevant test for a Governor is not the size of a party but its ability to command the support of the majority in the Legislature.

Sir Ivor Jennings in his book "Cabinet Government" (page 29 3rd edn.) holds the view that in case no party obtains a majority in the general elections there are only two possibilities left for the Queen—the formation of a coalition Government or installation of a minority Government with the support of the opposition Parties. Dr. Jennings does not consider practicable the idea of another dissolution of the Legislature.<sup>8</sup> The Governors should also follow this idea of Dr. Jennings in case of the existence of many parties in the State Assembly.

The Committee has also felt the need of a convention to be developed in choosing the Chief Minister. Only an elected member of the Legislature should be selected as the C. M. of a State, the Committee suggests, and not any nominated member of the House (as Mr. T. N. Singh was elected the C. M. of the U. P. State), as he does not enjoy the confidence of the House. In fact, such a selection of a nominated member as the C. M. is also contrary to the conventions of a parliamentary form of Government. The Committee has further recommended that the choosing of the leader of the coalition should be made by or through all the parties of coalition in a joint meeting. This in fact, would make easy the task for the Governor to select the leader of a coalition as the C. M.

On the issue of prorogation of the Assembly, the Committee holds, that the Governor should not follow the advice of the C. M. in the situation when no-confidence motion against the C. M. is impending. It is the Governor's duty to ask the C. M. to face the Assembly and show his strength in the House.

On dissolution, the Committee says, the Governor should normally follow the advice of the Council of Ministers since the latter enjoys the confidence of the House. The Committee further maintains that if a Ministry is not able to get the budget passed before seeking dissolution, the Governor could take steps to ascertain if it is possible to instal another Ministry which is able to command the majority support and get the budget passed. In substance, the Committee asks the Governor to explore the possibilities of forming an alternative Government and after failing in it, the Governor should make a report to the President for dissolution. The Governor should not follow the advice of the outgoing C. M. for dissolution of the House.<sup>9</sup>

If a C. M. advises on loosing his majority, the Governor should accept his advice only if the Ministry suffers a defeat on a question of majority policy approved by the electorate and the C. M. wishes to appeal to the electorate.

On defection the Committee has expressed its view stating it to be "the most disturbing feature of our political life". The Committee has not favoured the idea of enacting a law for banning defections suggesting that such step would be offending the provisions of the Articles of 19(i)(c), 102 and 191 of the Constitution. But the Committee further suggests that the members changing loyalty to their party should go to their constituencies which have elected them and should get the approval of their electorate by seeking fresh elections. But the defection by an attempt of law can be

restricted by barring a defector to hold a seat of the legislature. A law may be enacted preventing a defector to have a place in the Cabinet unless he re-seeks a new verdict of his constituency. On the whole the remedy for the defection lies in the hands of the electorate. Public opinion should be stronger to influence the political career of the Legislators.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the political morality among the political parties is also essential for a healthy democracy.

As such the Committee has attempted to make clear the position of the Governor. It has tried to maintain the democratic spirit of our system. For instance, the Committee has suggested that the test of the confidence in a Ministry should normally be left to a vote in the Assembly and if the C. M. refuses to test his strength, the Governor would then be entitled to withdraw his "pleasure" under Article 164(1) of the constitution.

The Committee has circumscribed the vast scope of the discretionary powers of the Governor. But at the same time he has not been rendered ineffective in State politics.

But the Committee should know that greater extension of the discretionary powers of the Governors would mean the greater possibility of Central intervention in State affairs, which is nothing but a negation of democracy.

The Committee has left certain controversial issues to be discussed in detail. For instance, it has not explained the merits and norms about the appointment of the Governors. In a parliamentary democracy, the State Legislature enjoys the right of appointment and removal of the titular head of the State, as our parliament enjoys under Article 61 of the Constitution. But the Legislatures of the Indian States have no say in appointment and removal of the Governor.<sup>11</sup> Although there is a convention to consult the

State Govt. in advance in appointing the Governor but it may be violated by the Central Government as was done in case of the appointment of Mr. Nityanand Kanungo in Bihar.<sup>12</sup>

A situation may also arise when the Governor may refuse to follow the advice of his council of Ministers. In such a case what would be a check for the State against the indifferent attitude of the Governor? It has been noted that since the Central Government enjoys the right of the appointment and the removal of the Governors, the Governors have been irresponsible to the States and they play the tune the Central Government calls for.

The Committee should have also suggested the view of the Administrative Reforms Commission which recommended in June 1969 the idea to appoint retired judges as the Governors of the Indian States,<sup>13</sup> and that might have guaranteed their impartiality.

The success of the norms submitted by the Committee would largely depend upon how the Governors and the political parties sincerely abide by them practically in State affairs. An honest observation of these norms would certainly help in cementing the roots of our democracy. But the report has not made it clear what shall happen in case of violations of these guidelines. Who shall be functioning, who could see that these are carried out by the Governors and political parties? Will the Courts be entitled to interfere in these cases? The answer to the questions is: that our parliamentary democracy needs to evolve, a "code of conduct" and "political behaviour" for its successful role.

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## THE FUTURE OF THE NOVEL

PRAVINSINH CHAVDA

The present state of the novel in England and America leads to wild speculation about the possibility of its survival and the shape it is likely to take if it survives at all. This concern about the future of the novel results from the incontrovertible fact that it has ceased to be the major form of literary expression after the first quarter of this century. Its place as a form through which the greatest literary artists choose to give their vision of life has been taken over by drama and poetry.

The decline of the novel can be attributed to two kind of causes : internal and external : the problems of form and style and the problems of the modern way of life which have necessarily influenced the novel. The first internal cause is the impact of the media of mass communication the novel, in its primary role as popular entertainer, could not compete with the newspaper, radio, film and television. Because of the technical advantage, the newspaper and the radio could better give information and the film and the television could better tell, or rather present, a story. In this invasion of the world of art by these media of mass communication, the novel was the first casualty.

Another external force, which has contributed to the decline of the novel is that, in the words of Walter Allen, the modern age is "unpropitious to the novelist's art."<sup>1</sup> It has been the peculiar business of the novel to give a picture of man in society. But today the world is changing so swiftly that there is no steady and static society for the novelist to depict. The novelist's attempt to find a shape and form is frustrated by the sheer formlessness of modern life.

The reality of modern experience is so monstrous and aberrant, and so annihilates the merely human, that the novel has no way of reducing or accommodating it to a comprehensible vision of life.<sup>2</sup>

But the internal causes are more serious. According to some people with the technical perfection of *Ulysses* and *Finnegan's Wake* all the possibilities of the novel as a literary form were exhausted and it reached a dead end. Slightly different from this, but running on the same lines, is the idea that a literary form, like everything else, evolves from infancy into maturity and perfection and then either becomes extinct, or, more possibly, dissolves into newer forms which then come into existence. This is what happened to the epic. So, according to this idea, the novel, during its two centuries and a half of existence, has run a full course, and now to write novels in the fashion of *Tom Jones*, *Dombey and Son* or even *Finnegan's Wake* would be an anachronism.

A fact that calls the form itself in question is that the novel has never been a pure form. It has taken over the functions of drama, lyric, history and even journalism and pamphleteering.<sup>3</sup> So when, in the modern age, the impact of the cinema and television caused a serious challenge to the printed page, and when all arts retreated to their peculiar territory where no other form of art could challenge them, there was no territory peculiar to the novel where it could reign unrivalled. Painting has abandoned the anecdote and concentrated on the colour and the line, and poetry has concentrated on sound and imagery.

But if the novel is robbed of its inessentials, there is nothing which is left to it. It is a form of art which has the least of form.

It spite of the state of the novel today, some trends in recent years show that, though the novel can not hope to remain the major literary form in future, it will continue to live, perhaps in a different shape. The contemplation of the future of the novel naturally occasions some reflections on the life of a literary form. A literary form, like everything else, has its ups and downs, and it cannot hope to reign supreme for ever. For reasons social, cultural and aesthetic, it has to yield to other thriving forms. In this struggle for supremacy, a form relegated to a minor position, has to absorb and assimilate some elements of a rival form in order to survive. In this process it is subjected to transformation, but since a form becomes what each new writer makes out of it according to T.S. Eliot's idea of tradition, to complain about changes would be to misunderstand the nature of art. An original writer employs a form to embody his peculiar vision of life and in the process he subjects it to newer uses and explores its possibilities. In art there is no point where a form can be said to have reached a dead end. Like reality which it tries to explore, art also is inexhaustible and there lies the adventure which challenges each new genius. To shape a form and to let the vision of life be shaped by it, to be bound by a form and still to loosen its knot to accommodate the experience—this compromise between reality and form is the greatest challenge for the artist. So a new kind of novel, novel shedding itself of the accepted 'aspects' like the story, the characters and background, and abandoning its traditional role as a depitor of man and society, is legitimate.

Apart from the factors which have caused the decline of the novel, there are two others which have forced the novelist to transform

and adapt his form for survival. They are the impact of poetry in modern literature and the complexity of modern life. Poetry, because of its supreme position among the forms of literature, has invaded other forms also. In the process of recession towards the essential and the pure, the novel, not having anything essential to it, has turned towards what is essential to the most essential of all forms of literature-poetry. The second factor, the complexity of modern life, offered a challenge which the novelist could counter with a parallel complexity in art. According to T.S. Eliot, the complexity of modern life requires for its presentation a complexity in arts, too. The traditional plot-character-background novel could not provide the artistic equivalent or objective correlative of the labyrinthine and chaotic modern life.

The first great change, which is a part of an attack on the accepted view of reality, reflected both in the subject-matter and technique, is the new conception of time in the modern novel. For the clock or calendar time of the traditional novel, the modern novelist replaces time reflected through a consciousness. In the novels of Dickens we have a linear plot and incidents arranged in a chronological order. It is significant that many of Dickens's novels take the form of a series of adventures by the hero. These "externalized adventures"<sup>4</sup> are abandoned for a more exciting adventure into a mind, a consciousness, as in a novel like Faulkner's *Sound and Fury*, where the presentation of an intense and revealing experience required not a chronological arrangement of events, but a distortion and rearrangement of temporal and spatial dimensions. In the hands of a modern novelist like Faulkner or Salinger, as in a Browning monologue, a moment becomes more revealing than the dull expanse of a whole life-time. From this treatment of time, which can be called 'internal' by Proust,

Joyce and Faulkner, there is a development in the novels of Kafka, Sartre and Manu where the novelist is concerned with the human condition, the universal, and, instead of the presentation of the external adventures of a hero in a chronological order, or the internal adventures into a consciousness arranged in the form of layers beneath layers, there is a cyclic or repetitive treatment of time.<sup>5</sup>

The novelist hero is concerned with the universal and so the hero is not an individual or a consciousness, but the whole mankind, the Everyman.

The attempt to break away from the accepted notions of reality has resulted into a new concept of the hero and the return from realism to the romance. The new hero, or antihero, wages a double war, with society and with himself. In his struggle with the outward, the hero has to struggle with the inward ; to explore the outer phenomena, it becomes necessary first to dip into the microscopic unit of self. Thus, in the words of Ihab Hassan,

The central fact about fiction in a mass society may be this : that as the modes of behaviour congeal into hard, uniform crust, the hero attempts to discover alternate modes of life on levels beneath the frozen surface. The new hero is a diver, a subterranean.....<sup>6</sup>

Hence the behaviour of the hero is a departure from the realistic norms of society and this brings into the novel the element of romance, the "operative reality of thought and desire"<sup>7</sup> The time of action in many novels is undated, the setting remote and unworldly and the action symbolic. The hero resembles in many respects the heroes of the mythic past, in his struggle with society, his fearful madness and his rebellion which forces him into isolation.<sup>8</sup>

The keen competition with science has led

to the mistaken idea that art could not meet science on her own grounds and she could prove her utility only by accepting the methods of science. Perhaps it was this line of thought which led Lionel Trilling to predict in 1947 that the novel of the future would deal with ideas. But the truth of science is not the only kind of truth and art also has her unique kind of truth. Fortunately for the novel, instead of surrendering to science and thus allowing the novel to become extinct, the modern novelist has decided to continue to use the tools of art. This does not mean that the modern life allows an artist to live in his ivory tower. Every great artist is a philosopher, but ideas in a novel become dull. We have a solution of this problem in the novels of D.H. Lawrence. While ideas are dull, action catches the imagination, so in *Lady Chatterley's Lover* we have intense physical activity which itself becomes a philosophy. In Hemingway's *A Farewell Arms*

we have courage without the word, honour without the word, and in *The old man and the sea* we are offered a sort of Christian endurance, also without specific terms.<sup>9</sup>

Fortunately this preference of action to ideas has coincided with a formalistic necessity. The novel, in its movement towards poetry, presentation rather than statement, tends to be more and more dramatic and the emphasis falls on action.

Because of the novel's translation from the outer or surface reality to the inner reality, from its function as a depitor of society and character to the investigator of the mind, it becomes more and more subjective. This subjectivity has two consequences : the novel becomes more autobiographical and more poetic. There is a close identity between the author and the protagonist, as in Proust's *Remembrance of the Things Past* and Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. The

ncvel becomes autobiographical not in that it narrates incidents of a complete life, but in that it gives a personal assessment of a life's experience.<sup>10</sup>

The challenge presented by the modern life compels the novelist to employ a complex method, the method of indirection, the method of poetry. With the elimination of the narrative and characters through which formerly the novel unfolded its meaning, now the novelist uses a complex pattern, well-knit and interrelated like a musical composition, with repetition, echoes and suggestion. The novels of William Golding have the structure of fantasy, and they are not realistic tales but parables.

These are some of the directions in which the novel is groping today. It has neither given up the old tradition nor perfected a new one. However, the works of the modern movementists and their sincere efforts to respond to the necessities of their times with newer tools, shows that, far from being the last age of the novel, this is only an age of transition.

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# Indian and Foreign Periodicals

## India's Economic and Moral Crisis

K. Santhanam writes in "Swarajya":

It is painfully evident that India is in the throes of a serious economic crisis. Prices of all commodities are continuously rising, but the non-availability of essential commodities even at high prices is far more disturbing. On account of the acute power shortage in many parts of the country, industrial production has had to be cut down drastically. The plight of many small-scale industries, which have been brought into existence in recent years owing to official encouragement and financing, is critical. Unless some scheme of subsidizing these industries is immediately evolved, many of them may have to close down leaving a trail of misery behind them.

While this economic crisis is undoubtedly serious and painful, I am convinced that the moral crisis in which the country is involved will have far greater effects on its future. Favourable monsoons and foreign aid may help to mitigate the economic crisis but unless the moral foundations of our people are satisfactorily restored, even economic progress will have no use. That our political leaders and particularly those who are in power at the Centre and the States should be indifferent to this moral crisis constitutes the most serious handicap to the peaceful evolution of our political and social life.

The crux of the moral crisis is the fact that the Indian citizen, both individually and in his capacity as a member of the various social, economic and political groups, concerns himself primarily with the selfish interests of himself, his family and his group and does not consider it his duty to subordinate them to or

even coordinate them with the large interests of the country as a whole. In order to get a job for himself or for a member of his family, he has no scruple in seeking undue influence of people in power and resorting even to bribery and other underhand dealings. It is so even for getting his children admitted in school. If he is building a house, he has no hesitation to bribe the authorities of the corporation or the municipality. If he is a professional, he does not mind concealing part of his income and evading income-tax.

If he is an employee in any factory or office he is utterly indifferent to the success or efficiency of the institution he serves and is solely interested in improving his wages, salaries and conditions of his own service. He has no hesitation in resorting to strikes, goslow tactics, gheraos and other methods to obstruct the working of his institution even when he is aware that any interruption of its work will harm the country. At one time, it was thought that these methods were legitimate only in the case of the workers in a factory. Now Government officials, teachers, doctors and even highpaid executives think that they are entitled to hold the country to ransom to enforce their sectional demands irrespective of their national consequences. Many of them have lost all scruple against misusing and exploiting their position for selfish purposes.

The same spirit of narrowminded preoccupation with factional interests characterises the approach and thinking of political parties and groups. It is fast becoming a tradition among them that the end justifies the means and that every kind of propaganda and exploitation

of caste and communal prejudices and unscrupulous raising and expenditure of funds are permissible to secure success in the elections. The majority parties have no desire to cultivate the goodwill of the fairminded members of the minority parties or groups and the latter think that their sole business is to blacken the majority and not persuade, or influence it.

It is difficult to imagine what progress can be achieved in this moral climate. It appears to be a complete reversal of national psychology which was evolved during the struggle for freedom under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. It is no wonder that many patriotic men and women are in despair, but it is necessary to remember that such wide fluctuations have happened in the life of every nation and it is wrong to give up the struggle for righteousness.

#### Government as Food Grain Trader

In the same journal N. R. Subramanian has pointed out how Governmental mismanagement in Burma caused a very noticeable fall in rice exports during the year 1971. The rice export figures were for Burma 1,775,000 tons in 1911, 3,000,000 tons in 1931, 3,500,000 tons in 1941 and only 774,600 tons in 1971. In India too Government management is well known for inefficiency, political interference, and corrupt practices. If a widely spread out business like food grains trade is taken over by government things are likely to go wrong everywhere in every way. Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan is reported to have said about government take over of food grains trade, "To those who prattle all the time of monopoly and socialism, I should like to say that the take over of the food grains trade has nothing to do either with monopoly or socialism. Indeed, this policy is sure to discredit socialism in the eyes not of the rich but of the masses. "The government

had no expertise and no suitable machinery for such a complicated, specialized and far flung commercial operation, Mr. Narayan said. The inescapable corruption and inefficiency, no matter what machinery the Government set up, would multiply a hundred-fold the evils of hoarding and profiteering that it was meant to eradicate. The criminal mess that the Government's purchase and distribution machinery had made of the American milo business should be a lesson and a warning, he added—

Sri Jaya Prakash Narayan is a true patriot and a defender of the common man's human rights. What he says about governmental interference with the people's free enterprise in the economic field should be taken notice of by the government and the people. The congress are the nation's well wishers and their ideals, generally speaking have a truly beneficial national significance. But there are self seekers, power hunters and other evil elements in the congress who should be kept down and not permitted to engage in either overdoing things or in chasing their own interests. It is believed by many people that "Socialism" is now beginning to cover many sins and the sinners are by and large to be found among the politicians, the bureaucrats, contractors and their agents.

#### Politics in Everything

Just as we have our schemes and plans which involve the digging or damming of canals and rivers or the construction of tube railways and the management of coal mines ; the British have their plans and schemes too, and one can learn much from what the British press says about such matters ; for the British know how to further a cause, if there is one. The "New Statesman" has come out with certain editorial comments relating to the channel tunnel, the Anglo-French concorde aircraft, French policy in supplying arms to

Uganda and the French nuclear tests in the South Pacific. These comments are well worth studying as criticism of British governmental action in the field of national economic and foreign policy. The *New Statesman* says, "We in this country traditionally mistrust the French as much—if that is possible—as they distrust us. It is a mutual xenophobic myth. But it now seems that for once we are right. In return for petty advantages in the common market bureaucracy (.....) our government seems to be in process of selling out to France on a series of national interests.

"The most pernicious betrayal is the latest plan to proceed with the Channel Tunnel without any proper discussion about its cost or even its utility. Of its benefit to property speculators, road makers and the motor industry, there can be no doubt. The massive influx of cars and heavy lorries to South East England will serve as a further excuse for the destruction of London by a motorway box. The prospect of a Tunnel was one of the earliest arguments used in defence of this madness. The French want the Tunnel because President Pompidou is in favour of motorways: indeed his old employers, the Rothschild group, have a quarter share in the tunnel enterprise. For the British tax payer, the Tunnel is likely to prove as wasteful and dear as the Maplin airport..... And now the *Times* predicts that work on the Anglo-French concorde aircraft will have to be unified either at Toulouse or Bristol. No prizes for guessing which city will win.

"Even the most devoted British defenders of that lunatic plane admit, privately, that it has become the kind of folly only a rich nation could afford—leaving aside any other objection. But the French have been brainwashed by their press and television into seeing the great white bird as a national symbol; as much part of their life as red wine or the

tricolore. In Toulouse at the recent elections, even the communists called it the People's Plane'. Of course they have their employment problems, and are politically bound to be ambivalent (.....) but who in their right Descartian senses can pretend this monument to the jet set belongs to the people? The French government is so besotted with Concorde that it is even reported to have released a Palestinian guerrilla in the hopes of mollifying potential Arab buyers.

"The British government also supports the French in acts of foreign policy that are directly harmful to Britain. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office has not uttered a squeak of protest over firm reports that France is supplying arms to General Amin..... It is probable that the French entente with Uganda has been achieved through the offices of Amin's friend and Pompidou's puppet, President Jean-Bedel Bokassa, known to the world for personally attending to the massacre of his prisoners.

"Fourth, but by no means the least, Britain refuses to make a protest against French nuclear tests in the South Pacific since these tests cannot achieve any information that was not learned from U. S. and British tests 10 years ago. The French are clearly motivated by nothing more than national pride. To satisfy this, they are prepared to unleash a massive explosion and toxic dust over one of the most beautiful parts of the world. But they could still be prevented from going ahead. They stopped their Sahara tests in response to complaints from Nigeria and threats against French oil explorers. The Labour governments in Australia and New Zealand have made vigorous protests, even threatening to break off diplomatic relations with France. Obviously Pompidou is not impressed by this threat, when it is not backed up by Britain. As a country, we must have

created a record in the speed with which we have betrayed old standing relationships (in this case, with the white Commonwealth). Instead—and seemingly as a very junior partner—we have joined forces with M. Pampidou, who knows perfectly well that the interests of the giant financial groups in exploiting mineral resources ensure British-French partnership in the South Seas as in Europe. We are yoked by an entente commerciale."

### Two Contradictory Versions

The following report published in the "Coal Field Tribune" is very reassuring to the coal using public. It says :

Despatches of coal, according to Union Dy. Minister of Steel and Mines Shri Subodh Hansda has substantially improved and price at the consumers' end has gone down. Shri Hansda was talking to reporters at Dishergarh. He said that daily production in West Bengal coalfields was about 76,000 tonnes and daily despatches were about 65,000 tonnes of which 22,000 tonnes were moving by road towards down country direction. Wagon supply for West Bengal collieries has improved and on an average 2000 wagons were being supplied daily, he added.

The same journal of the same date also published an editorial on the same subject which said.

Calcutta and its adjoining areas are hard hit by high price of domestic coal and it is feared that if the problem is not solved expeditiously, people of the areas may go without cooked food. Coal is said to have been sold at a fantastic high price which is beyond the reach of common men. It is learnt that coal sells at the rate of Rs. 7/- per 40 Kg and the situation is said to be alarming. People have been puzzled by overnight spurt of domestic coal price after take-over of noncoking coal by Government. The crux of the problem

is the spurt in coal price came defying all assurances by CMA and Ministers that price line will be maintained. Custodian General of CMA Shri J. G. Kumaramangalam told the reporters in Calcutta that with the arrival of soft coke by rail, the prevailing prices in the wholesale market have come down from Rs. 160 to Rs. 145 a tonne in the case of soft coke moved by road and from Rs. 132 to Rs. 120 moved by rail." He hoped that with the supply position improving there would be further reduction in price shortly. Shri Subodh Hansda, Union Dy. Minister of Steel and Mines told the reporters here on March 11 that 22,000 tonnes of coal were moving towards down country direction i. e. Calcutta and its adjoining areas and coal price had gone down.

Custodian General Shri Kumaramangalam said that against 4 rakes a month for Calcutta the railways assured 24 rakes a month with some additional wagons. These allotments are said to ensure supply of 40,000 tonnes of domestic coal to Calcutta. But he did not say the time limit of commencement of supplies. In one hand CMA and BCCL were all praise for the railways while both said the huge accumulation of coal stocks at pit head in collieries because of "wagon difficulties". The 'praise for railways' 'co-operation' and 'better co-ordination' is therefore, contradictory.

### Road Accidents in Calcutta

"Autoeast" the journal of the Automobile Association of Eastern India, Published the following account of road accidents in Calcutta :

The Commissioner of Police Mr. Abdul Chowdhury has in a recent statement to the press given some disquieting information about the growing number of road accidents in Calcutta. The number of deaths or

streets of Calcutta registered an increase of 5% during the period 1968-72.

Mr. Chowdhury told pressmen on March 1, 1973 that as against 259 deaths in 1968, 5 people were killed on the streets of Calcutta in 1972. What was worse that nearly 80% of those killed were pedestrians.

There is an alarming state of affairs and there is a concerted drive in all quarters among the A.A.E.I members. The A.A.E.I. has presented on the Safety First Committee that is taking active interest in the launching of Safety Week in Calcutta from March 26, 1973. The A.A.E.I. members are requested to take a little more interest in not only driving safely but also propagating the safety message to all sections of people including professional drivers, pedestrians and school children. What worries us most is a report that the number of deaths on the road because of drunken drivers is also on the increase.

While assuring the authorities that the A.A.E.I. members will do their best to spread the safety message, we do hope that something should be done to improve upon the appalling conditions of road in the city. It is high time that somebody publishes a Guide Book on "No Entries," "No Right Turn," 'One Way' etc.

Calcutta continues to be a nightmare city as far as driving is concerned. Things are not going to improve very much in view of the work to be taken in hand by the MRTP. We also publish on this page extracts from the Hindustan Standard on devastations caused to Calcutta roads by the popular authority, better known as Metropolitan Digging Authority.

Meanwhile we would call upon members to study the road safety hints published by the police authorities and to obey Traffic Rules.

May we suggest to the Police Commissioner

to immediately reconstitute the Traffic Advisory Committee so that effective steps may be taken to save human life as well as to ensure safety on roads both for the pedestrians and the motorists.

#### A Serious Charge

An editorial note in "Swarajya" says :

Mr. Mohan Kumaramangalam, the Central Minister for Steel and Mines, stated at a recent meeting that he had not received any request for coal supplies from the Government of Tamil Nad till about two weeks ago and that at once he arranged to send it by sea-route as the rail traffic through Andhra was interrupted. This has been denied by Mr Karunanidhi, who has referred to some communications sent to the Government of India on the matter. It is clear, however, that the Tamil Nad Government's demand have not been of such urgency as to compel the attention of the Minister in charge of coal.

Mr R. Venkataraman, to whose ability Tamil Nad owes so much of its industrial progress, has also charged the DMK Government with lack of farsightedness. He has said that it had contented itself with the power generation established by its predecessors and did not plan for increased power, the necessity for which was obvious. If there were a proper Opposition, the Government would be shaky but the fact that the present Government has an overwhelming majority in the Tamil Nad Assembly should not make it lose all sense of responsibility. The least that the Government can do is to ask the Minister for Electricity to resign and also all those officials in charge of the Electricity Department and the Tamil Nad Electricity Board who did not intimate the Government of the imminence of power shortage or advise it of the urgency of establishing more thermal stations. This is the least that should be done to indicate

that at least now the Government has realized its mistake.

### What Might Happen in Vietnam

"Time" weekly analysed possibilities of a warlike nature in Vietnam in its February 5, 1973 number. The developments so far have not been of the worst kind. But the possibilities are fully there. We are reproducing parts of the analysis here.

"Based on past experience," South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu declared recently, referring to the 1954 Geneva agreement, "we cannot rely too much on international treaties, for the Communists do not respect them. Nor can we rely too much on the International Control Commission." More pointedly he advised his countrymen, "If a stranger enters your village, shoot him in the head."

Thieu's comments may well prove to be prophetic about the immediate future of South Viet Nam. The cease-fire really marks the beginning of a period of prolonged uncertainty—and perhaps of yet a new stage in the war. Now only an overwhelming effort of good will, it would seem, will permit cooperation between the opposing armed forces and their political cadres, and such an agreement is not in evidence.

When the cease-fire began last weekend, the South Vietnamese had 1,100,000 men under arms. They controlled most of the country's populated areas, including all of its 44 provincial capitals and ten major cities. The Communists claim to control more than 2,500,000 people, or about 14% of South Viet Nam's total population of 17,500,000; in reality the number is probably closer to 500,000. Some intelligence officials believe that Hanoi and the Viet Cong will shift immediately after the cease-fire to widespread but small-scale guerrilla tactics. More likely the Communists will keep guerrilla activity to

a minimum until the U. S. withdrawal is completed.

More significant is the number of troops that the North Vietnamese are permitted to leave in South Viet Nam—145,000, according to Washington's estimate, 300,000 by Saigon. "What kind of peace is it," President Thieu demanded recently, "that gives the Vietnamese the right to keep their troops here?" His pessimistic prediction is that "next war" will be required to destroy the country's Communist underground. "The war may last six months, one year or more," he says. "It will decide the political future of Viet Nam."

If one or both sides want to resume fighting, it is not clear how the combatants can be kept apart. Considering the built-in limitations of the ICC the effectiveness of the cease-fire would seem to depend mostly on the spirit of observance by the Vietnamese—proud, stubborn, subtle people who can quietly nurture hate until the moment of retribution arrives.

In the political struggle within South Viet Nam, it may well be that the "neutral" and "middle" factions will take on greater importance than in the recent past. Such groups as the Cao Dai, portions of the Dai Viet Party, the Buddhists, the progressive Roman Catholics and the Hao Hoa might emerge as viable alternatives to supporters of President Thieu. He bases his hopes for survival on the backings of a coalition composed of conservative Catholics as well as the Thieu-dominated military and civil services, opposed by a manageable minority made up of the Hoa Hao, the Buddhists, the Cao Dias and a few others. Thieu has bitter enemies within the military hierarchy, however, and new alliances within the army could be created quickly—particularly if the Nixon Administration were

hint that its support for Thieu was waver-

The Paris accord<sup>1</sup> calls for a National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord, composed of the Saigon government, Provisional Revolutionary Government and South Vietnamese neutrals. Its effectiveness will be limited, if not paralyzed, by the fact that any action it takes must be unanimous. But as Thieu well knows, the council will eventually be transformed into a base for a new 'coalition' of Communists and others that could bring him down. In his coming discussions with the P. R. G., Thieu is unlikely to give an inch on any crucial issue.

Partly because of Thieu's cunning political work, his position today is very strong—much more so than it was three months ago. He has stayed on working terms with the U. S. while tightening his control over the Saigon government. He has also shown that he can stand up to American pressure, and this in turn has increased his popularity at home. His army is large and well equipped. But Thieu has to worry not only about the 500,000 Vietnamese troops left in the South but also about Washington's long-term intentions. The U. S. retains airbases in Thailand, and if the Vietnamese were to mount another major offensive against South Viet Nam in six or eight months, they would have to depend on U. S. bombing. But what if the war comes in two or three years—perhaps in the form of a coup or a Communist-led revolt? Would the U. S. take military action to assist Thieu? It seems unlikely.

### ■ Production in East European Communist Countries

The following account of steel production (of cast iron, pipes etc.) in Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany, Poland, Rumania

and Czechoslovakia has been published in the "Backgrounder", the Official Press Release of the Consulate General of the USSR at Calcutta.

Prior to World War II, Bulgaria, Hungary, Germany (the territory of the present GDR), Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia put together, used to produce a little over three million tons of cast iron and less than 6 million tons of steel, about 4 million tons of rolled stock and 250,000 tons of steel pipe. In the period from 1950 to 1970, the output of cast iron in the CMEA countries increased by 4.8 times, of steel and rolled stock by 4.5 times, and of steel pipe by 6.7 times. In 1971 these countries produced over 114 million tons of cast iron, 162 million tons of steel, 114 million tons of finished rolled stock, and over 17 million tons of steel pipe.

The year 1972 saw the further development of the CMEA countries' iron-and-steel industry. Their steel output in 1972 increased, as compared with 1971, by almost 5 per cent and added up to about 171 million tons, according to preliminary estimates. The average annual increment rate for cast iron, steel and rolled stock production in CMEA countries in recent years was higher than in most of the developed capitalist states. The CMEA countries' share in world steel production comes to 27.9 per cent today.

In accordance with the Comprehensive Programme, the countries of the socialist community have mapped out the basic concepts of the long-term development of the iron and steel industry up to 1990 and of socialist economic integration in this sector of the national economy, and fixed the directions of production specialisation and cooperation in this field. The plans stipulate the further growth of the output of basic iron and steel industry products. This growth will be secured, first and foremost, by a fuller loading

of operating enterprises, particularly those built in recent years, as well as by the modernisation of shops and installations and the construction of new metal-making works.

Rolled stock production is to be extended largely through building new up-to-date high-efficiency rolling mills. Particular attention will be paid to increasing the production of cold-rolled sheet, including electrotechnical and fine coated sheet. Parallel with the extension of the output and assortment of seamless pipes, there is to be a large-scale development of welded pipe production. In order to enhance the strength characteristics of finished goods, wide use is to be made of the heat and thermomechanical treatment of rolled stock and pipe.

Steel making is to be developed mainly by building oxygen-converter and electric-steel shops, and by introducing on a large scale the continuous teeming of steel along with a gradual reduction of open-hearth furnace

steel production. It is planned to build up-to-date large blast furnaces and coke batteries with high-capacity ovens, to raise the technical level of the mining, dressing and nodulizing of iron ores, to develop the production of metallised raw materials, and to introduce new systems for the comprehensive automation of production.

The Comprehensive Programme stipulates that the further development of the extraction, dressing and nodulizing of iron ores, on a scale that will cover for many years to come the basic requirements of the CMEA countries concerned in iron ore materials, will be effected in the USSR by joint efforts of the countries concerned which will conclude relevant agreements. The material and other resources of the CMEA countries concerned will be drawn on when necessary.

This account may be of use to the government of India's steel experts who specialise in planning rather than in giving material expression to the plans.

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